COMMUNITY CIVICS

HUGHES

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COMMUNITY CIVICS

BY

R. O. HUGHES

PEABODY HIGH SCHOOL, PITTSBURGH

ALLYN AND BACON

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FOREWORD

A NATION is safe for democracy only when it is composed of citizens who think seriously and intelligently, and who act on their convictions.

The boys and girls of our schools constitute the source from which a thinking citizenship of this kind must be developed.

Every one is in some degree his brother's keeper.

The belief that these three principles are true and fundamental is responsible for *Community Civics*. It is not a compilation of facts. Some facts are vital, and most of the specific statements of the book are worth remembering, but the great emphasis has been placed on making the pupil think for himself. As an aid in this direction, questions and suggestions for thought and investigation are placed in the body of the text where the pupil cannot help seeing them, as well as at the end of each chapter. There are also special topics requiring original investigation, which can profitably be assigned to individual members of a class; but neither the questions nor the topics are exhaustive, nor does each class need to take up every one.

The method of approach and the order of treatment follow in the main the recommendations of recent Committees on Social Studies, without adhering slavishly to any one outline. The student is first introduced to his own community and its immediate problems. Then he takes up the framework of government, without a knowledge of which the larger problems cannot be properly comprehended. Finally these broader questions, sometimes termed the "problems of democracy," are laid before him.

In studying government, the federal government is taken up first. In spite of our theories as to what ought to be most familiar, the fact remains that children and adults

alike know more about the national government than about state or local governments. Analogies and contrasts are much simpler when a common basis of comparison has already been laid. But any one who wishes to follow a different order of treatment will find little difficulty in taking up the chapters in the order which he likes best.

No attempt has been made to display erudition by using technical language or by filling space with long bibliographies. The small school can make no use of elaborate book lists, and the school with large library facilities does not need them. I have tried to write in language comprehensible to the average pupil and to put flesh and blood upon the dry bones of constitutions and laws. The numerous illustrations add to the interest of the text and help to give the pupil a more concrete idea of the subject. The book, in short, is the outgrowth of actual experience, and its outline has been covered in the author's own classes several times.

A number of the chapters were read by Congressman M. Clyde Kelly, who contributed valuable suggestions. Principal David R. Sumstine of the Peabody High School, Pittsburgh, Mr. Ben G. Graham, Supervisor of Junior High Schools, and Mr. W. A. Laning, Mr. G. A. Lundquist, and Miss Mary D. Potter, fellow-teachers of Civics in the Pittsburgh High Schools, have also read the manuscript or the proof. Miss M. Kathryn Sheets of the Peabody High School has read the proof and helped with comments from the pupil's viewpoint. None of these friends are to blame for any inaccuracies or other faults which may still remain, in spite of every effort to avoid them.

Community Civics is issued in the hope that it may prove an aid and guide to our boys and girls in the study of what is perhaps the most inspiring and significant subject in the whole curriculum.

R. O. Hughes

Pittsburgh,
September, 1917.

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COMMUNITY CIVICS

PART I

COMMUNITY LIFE

CHAPTER I

THE COMMUNITY AND ITS MEMBERS

The vocation of every man and woman is to serve other people.
—Tolstoi

1. Our Desire for Community Life. — How would you like to be a hermit, and live for months or years without having anything to do with other people or even seeing them except on very rare occasions? Judging by the number of people who live that way, it is not an especially popular manner of life.

It is great sport, as many of you know, particularly if you have belonged to the Boy Scouts or the Camp Fire Girls, to go out for a while and live as the red men did or the first white men who came into a new country. You can even enjoy several weeks of camp life by the sea or lake-shore or in the deep woods. But few of us want to do this all by ourselves, and we are glad enough after a little time to come back where there are substantial roads and electric lights and newspapers and stores and all the other things that exist just because people live together and have much to do with each other.

The boy or girl who does not like, some of the time at least, to be with others who have common interests is rather

unusual. It is just as true of men and women. Their lodges, clubs, church societies, and the like, are a similar expression of community interest. We all want the pleasure and benefits that come from association with others.

How many things can you do without receiving help, directly or indirectly, from some one else?

2. Communities in Which We Live. — Before the child is able to do anything for himself, he lives as a member of a group that we call the family. Here, among parents, brothers, and sisters, and perhaps a few others, he learns first what it means to live with others and how much he owes to them.

Mention some conditions that cause the home life of families to differ. Can you describe an ideal home? Why are not all homes of this kind? How can home conditions affect a person's activities and development outside the home?

Probably the first organized group that many of you became acquainted with outside your home was a Sunday-school class or some other society connected with a church. If that is not so, you have missed something which you ought to enjoy — something which you ought never to outgrow.

Sometime about the age of six you became a part of the community in which you have ever since spent a good share of your waking hours — the school. Here you learned little by little how to get along in the world around you, what it has to give you, and what you can give it. You have begun to understand the way in which people outside your home contribute something to the comfort and betterment of those within it. Perhaps you have already taken a little part yourself in working for others and so helping along the community in which you live. In any case you have reached the time now when you can study somewhat definitely the means by which your local community and the wider com-

munity which we call the nation undertake to do the things that their people feel should be done.

From your own recollection can you judge how early in life a child is likely to begin to realize his true relations with others? Have you ever thought much about it yourself? Have you ever done anything — whether paid for it or not — which was of real value to the community in which you live?

3. Economic Factors in the Community. — Homes and churches and schools are engaged in a work whose value is not likely to be estimated too highly, but they alone cannot provide all that the community of to-day needs or thinks it needs. Nature has so constructed us that we need two or three meals a day, and it is neither fashionable nor comfortable to try to get along without clothes. There are countless other things which we are all the time asking for. Many of them we do not really need, but they add much to our comfort and convenience, such as telephones and automobiles and porch swings. Thousands of other articles which are produced add only to our pleasure.

The more people there are in a community the more extensive is the demand for all these things, and the wider is the range of occupations which a community can offer its members. Whether the community is large or small, the economic side of its life, that is, the phase of its activities which is concerned with earning a living, has a very wide effect upon almost everything that is done by it or for it.

Try to imagine yourself living in your community about the time it was first settled. See if you can trace the steps by which first one occupation and then another was introduced, and why. How many of the occupations represented in your community are really not necessary to its well-being and progress? Are any of them actually harmful? Does a community have wants as a group which its members would not have as individuals?

4. Kinds of Communities. — It is common to divide communities into two groups, rural and urban. By *rural communities* we mean those in which the people do not live

in dwellings set close together, those in which farming is the principal occupation. Nevertheless there is a real community interest often manifested by the people who live in such localities, as one would discover if he spent any length of time among the farmers of the western prairies, where it is often a long, long way from one farmhouse to the next.

Even in such regions places of general interest or use, such as a store, a church, or a blacksmith shop, may be built near each other, and a little village may grow up around them.

Main Street in a Western Frontier Town.

Perhaps in time quite a sizable community may develop, and serve as a center of trade for a large area of farming country. Sometimes towns spring up suddenly, as they did in the regions in Pennsylvania where men first "struck oil" or in some of the mining districts of the far West. Occasionally they stop growing just as suddenly as they started, and have only the vanished glories of past days to console them for their faded hopes of greatness. Rarely a great business organization like the United States Steel Corporation starts a town of its own, as it founded Gary, Indiana.

Urban communities are those where the people live

relatively close together, and in which there is usually some variety of occupations. The national Census Bureau counts a place as in this class if it has a population of 2500 or more. If a community gets to be thickly settled and obtains a special form of government under a "charter"

A New England Country Village.

from the state in which it is located, it is entitled to call itself a *city*. The size which a community must attain in order to do this varies greatly from one state to another.

How would the community in which you live be classified? Is there anything unusual about its foundation or development? Why was it established at that particular point? Study the three pictures of communities. What particular features of each do you notice? Would you care to live in any of them?

5. Services of the City. — The services performed by the city government are almost innumerable. The construction and care of streets, prevention and punishment of crime, protection of life and property, promotion of educa-

tion and culture, care of the public health and of the poor and unfortunate — these and many other necessary services are performed, wholly or in part, by the city. Most cities also furnish their people's water supply. Many supply their own light for streets and other public places. Some own or at least have something to say about the management of street railways, docks, and other public utilities.

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UNION SQUARE, SAN FRANCISCO.

Most cities provide various little courtesies and conveniences which add much to the pleasure and profit of city life, but which could not by any stretch of the imagination be considered necessary. Public baths, free band concerts, organ recitals, museums, and the like, illustrate activities of city governments which ought to mean even more than they do to the average city resident.

6. Growth of Cities. — The growth of cities is one of the most remarkable features in the development of American

life. In 1790 only 3.4 per cent of the people of the United States were urban — that is, lived in cities. To-day fully 50 per cent live in communities large enough to have been called cities 100 years ago. One hundred years ago no place in the country had 100,000 people. In 1920 sixty-eight cities had more than that number.

Cities themselves are not new, of course. Babylon, Alexandria, Athens, and Rome were cities of ancient times which mightily influenced the course of history. Neither is their growth limited to the United States. London, Berlin, Tokio, Buenos Aires, are cities that have grown almost as rapidly as the great cities of the United States. But it is remarkable for a country that was once agricultural to the extent that we were, to produce so many great cities in so short a time. New York with its suburbs is now the greatest center of population in the world, and the five largest cities of the United States contain more than one-tenth of the population of the country.

Numerous causes, working together, have contributed to this marvelous city growth. The development of the factory system of industry has drawn thousands of people together in a small space. The increased use of machinery has made it possible for many more people to find work in the city and less to be needed on the farm. Railroads have helped to build up great centers of trade and commerce. The idea that city life is pleasanter and offers more opportunities for advancement than the country or the small town has enticed many into the whirl of the city life, only to find that after all they are simply lost in the crowd.

Is your city growing? Why or why not? In what kind of community would you like best to live?

The following table shows the growth of the 25 cities which in 1920 were the most populous in the United States. Study it, and see if you can explain, from your knowledge of geography or any other source of information, why some have grown so much more rapidly than others.

CITY	1920	1910	1890	1870	1850	1830
New York	5,620,048	4,766,883	2,507,414	1,478,103	696,115	242,278
Chicago	2,701,705	2,185,283	1,099,850	298,977	29,963	——
Philadelphia	1,823,779	1,549,008	1,046,964	674,022	408,462	188,797
Detroit	993,678	465,766	205,876	79,577	21,019	2,222
Cleveland	796,841	560,663	261,353	92,829	17,034	1,076
St. Louis	772,897	687,029	451,770	310,864	77,860	4,977
Boston	748,060	670,585	448,477	250,526	136,881	61,392
Baltimore	733,826	558,485	434,439	267,354	169,054	80,620
Pittsburgh	588,343	533,905	343,904	139,256	67,863	15,369
Los Angeles	576,673	319,198	50,395	5,728	1,610	——
Buffalo	506,775	423,715	255,664	117,714	42,261	8,668
San Francisco	506,676	416,912	298,997	149,473	34,776	——
Milwaukee	457,147	373,857	204,468	71,440	20,061	——
Washington	437,571	331,069	230,392	109,199	40,001	18,826
Newark	414,524	347,469	181,830	105,059	38,894	10,953
Cincinnati	401,247	363,591	296,908	216,239	115,435	24,831
New Orleans	387,219	339,075	242,039	191,418	116,375	46,082
Minneapolis	380,582	301,408	164,738	13,066	——	——
Kansas City	324,410	248,381	132,716	32,260	600	——
Seattle	315,312	237,194	42,837	1,107	——	——
Indianapolis	314,194	233,650	105,436	48,244	8,091	1,085
Jersey City	298,103	267,779	163,003	82,546	6,856	——
Rochester	295,750	218,149	133,896	62,386	36,403	9,207
Portland	258,288	207,214	46,385	8,293	821	——
Denver	256,491	213,381	106,713	4,759	——	——

From the growth of these cities between one date and the next, can you infer anything with reference to the movement of the people from one section of the country to another, or to changes in industry within the country?

7. "**The Life Together.**" — President Faunce of Brown University, in addressing his own students, once coined the happy phrase, "the life together," to describe the college community to which they belonged. The thought may be applied to any community, large or small, of which we are a part. Is it the home that we think of? Surely every member of it should have many interests in common with every other, and the welfare of one should be the welfare of all.

Is it the school that we have in mind? Don't forget that school is a part of life, not merely a preparation for it. We are all working for the same purpose. If one pupil does exceptionally well, the whole school shares in the credit. If one fails through carelessness and neglect, the whole school suffers. Each has his own part, which no one else can do.

So it is with the community. Our community life is a "life together." What concerns one member of it, concerns directly or indirectly all the rest. This thought, which many do not appreciate as they should, we intend to keep constantly in mind as we pursue the very important subject which we have begun to study.

QUESTIONS

Is there anything attractive about the life of a hermit? What motives might lead a person to live in that way?

What is the meaning of "community life"? Show that this is natural for people of all ages.

What is a family? Would it be possible or wise to do away with family life?

What was the first group or organization that you became acquainted with outside of your own family?

What has your school done to help you understand your relations with others?

Define "economic activities." Show their importance in a community. Trace the economic development of your own community. Has it all been good?

Define the two kinds of communities. Mention the ways by which villages and towns get their start.

What is a city? What are some of the things that cities do for their people?

Compare the importance of cities in the United States to-day and a century ago. How does this condition compare with other countries and other times? What are the chief causes of this tremendous city growth?

Show that each member of a community has a personal responsibility for its welfare. Prove this fact with reference to your home, your school, and your town or city.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Work of the Boy Scouts.
The Camp Fire Girls.
The Founding of Our Community.
The Industries of Our Community.
The Progress of Our Community.

A study of the most important characteristics of the development of the large cities given in the table on page 8, or of communities of special interest of some kind, such as Brockton, Bridgeport, Atlantic City, Birmingham, Tampa, Denver, Salt Lake City, Fairbanks, and the like, would be profitable.

CHAPTER II

NEEDS AND FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

That is the best government which desires to make the people happy and knows how to make them happy.—Macaulay.

8. Needs for Government. — Few people would care to stay very long in a community where everybody did just what he pleased just when he pleased. No family would be happy whose members conducted themselves in that way. No baseball team could be successfully managed on any such principle. No more could any group of men and women live in a community without some person or persons to guide or control their actions — in other words, to govern them.

True, if everybody practiced the Golden Rule, we might get along passably well without very much government. But not every one does. Even at that, good men often honestly disagree about matters of public interest, and some way must be provided to decide whose views shall be adopted. Besides, individuals by themselves find it wholly impossible to do many desirable things which they can readily accomplish by acting together.

We must have governments, then, to perform at least the following functions:

(1) To define and make known the rights and duties of individuals;

(2) To keep order and protect life and property;

(3) To enforce the performance of duties and punish, if necessary, those who disregard them;

(4) To regulate and conduct numerous activities which either cannot be performed by private activity or can be better performed by governmental action.

Under this last head are included such matters as the regulation of trade and industry, the construction of public buildings and of streets, the management of public schools,

Construction Work on a Great Bridge.

and many activities embraced in the so-called *police power* of government. By this term we mean the power to make all laws necessary to protect the peace, safety, health, and morals of the people. Men will often disagree as to just how far this function shall be exercised, but every year sees a wider extension of governmental service of this kind.

Give at least one illustration of the way each of the functions of government affects you personally.

Learn the preamble of the national Constitution as a statement of the reasons why our government was formed. Find a similar statement of purpose in your state constitution.

Who are "the people"?

9. Definitions. — The rules which are made either by the people or for them, to direct their actions, are called *laws.* The combined agency of laws, customs, and officers that carries on public business we call *government.* The supreme and unlimited power to form and administer government is known as *sovereignty.* In countries like the United States, Great Britain, and France this power really rests with the people themselves, for all authority in making or administering laws is exercised by persons whom the people have chosen to represent them — that is, to act in their behalf.

Most civilized countries are governed under a written *constitution* — that is, a fundamental law expressing the most vital facts about the form and powers of its government. They generally provide, too, that the constitution shall be more difficult to change than the ordinary law. Practically every political community in the United States has something of the kind and would feel lost without it. Great Britain, however, has none. The important laws, political documents, and customs which have been handed down from the past and form the background of its government serve as an unwritten constitution.

Which kind do you think is better for the United States? for Great Britain? for Russia? for France? for China?

10. Forms of Government. — Not often in history have states made changes in the form of their governments that were at the same time sudden and radical. Usually a state's form of government has just grown naturally out of its own needs. Several forms of government have therefore developed and still exist in the countries of to-day, and the same country may have had different forms at different times in its history. The most common types are defined below.

(1) A *monarchy* is a government in which sovereign power is exercised by one person or in the name of one person. If one person possesses all authority we call it an *absolute* monarchy. If his power is restricted by a constitution or

by the choice of other officials by the people, we have a *limited* monarchy. No monarch to-day possesses fully absolute power such as the Czars of Russia, Frederick II of Prussia, and Louis XIV of France once exercised. The difference now is simply in the extent to which his power is limited. The Kaiser retained extensive powers later than

THE ROYAL GUARD ASSEMBLING AT WINDSOR CASTLE.

most other monarchs. England still has a King, but has reduced his power almost to zero, and is a monarchy only in name.

(2) An *oligarchy* is a government controlled by a small portion of the people. If this small portion is made up of wealthy or noble families, we generally style it an *aristocracy*. Several governments still contain aristocratic elements, but no one is now wholly aristocratic.

(3) A *democracy* is a government in which all power is exercised directly by the people. It is next to impossible for this to be done except in small communities, but the spirit of democracy prevails in many republics and some monarchies. All seem to be moving in that direction, though some go slowly.

(4) A *republic* is a government in which the sovereign power is in the hands of the people, but is exercised through officials whom they elect. The United States, France, and Switzerland are the most successful of existing republics. Some so-called republics, as in certain Central and South American states, are hardly worthy of the name.

But all republics are not organized alike, nor are all monarchies. In some of them almost all authority is centralized in the national government. The subdivisions of this central organization are almost entirely for convenience in administration or for the election of officers. France is the best example of a centralized republic. Italy and Sweden are centralized monarchies.

Other governments have been formed by the bringing together, or federating, of smaller bodies. In such governments, some authority is entrusted to the central government and the rest is left in the hands of the parts or divisions which compose the nation. If the power of the central government is relatively weak, we call such a union a *confederation*. If the central government's powers are extensive and strong, we have a *federation*. The United States and Switzerland are republics which are federations; Germany also has been an example of the federal principle.

Find the meaning of *bureaucracy; autocracy.* What form of government is best? Would that form be best for every country? What changes in the form of governments have occurred in recent years? How much ought people to know about their own government? Who would be most likely to favor keeping the people in ignorance?

11. The Government of the United States. — We call the United States a *federal republic.* It has a well-planned

written constitution, which assigns certain important and far-reaching powers to the central government, but leaves many vital activities to be carried on by the governments of the divisions which make up the federation. These forty-eight divisions, some of which existed long before the Union was formed, are called *states*.

Each state has a constitution of its own, makes its own laws, and has its own courts, which must not, however, conflict with the laws and courts of the federal government. The states are divided into administrative divisions called *counties*, and the counties are composed of *cities*, *townships*, *boroughs*, or *villages*.

Get this governmental arrangement clearly in mind right here, for we shall frequently have to refer to some part of it as we proceed with our study. Notice, too, that the state is not a federation as the national government is. The subdivisions of the state are created by the state, and exercise only such authority as the state permits them to possess.

12. Departments of Government. — Every form of government works in three great fields of activity, which are known as the three departments of government. By the *legislative* department the laws are made. By the *executive* department the laws are put into operation. By the *judicial* department the meaning of laws is determined and decisions are made when people are accused of breaking them.

In the United States we have tried to distinguish and set apart these three departments in every grade of organized government, from the federal government down to the smallest local organization. Just as Congress makes the laws for the whole nation, so the state legislature makes laws for the state and the council for the city. As the President is the chief executive of the nation, so each state has a governor and most cities a mayor to serve in a similar capacity for them. And the police magistrates or aldermen or justices of the peace perform in a humble way the judicial services for a city or town just as truly as the thoroughly

organized courts of the state and the nation do in their respective spheres.

Put the facts of this section in the form of a table or diagram.

13. Checks and Balances. — In practice we do not always find it easy to keep these three departments entirely separate. Besides, our forefathers feared that one department might sometime become so strong as to endanger the liberties of the people unless it could be restrained in some way, if necessary. They worked out, therefore, an elaborate system of " checks and balances " to avert this danger.

The President may veto a bill passed by Congress or the courts may declare it unconstitutional.[1] Congress, in turn, may, by " impeachment " proceedings, remove from office a president, a judge, or other national officer. Most state and city governments have similar provisions. In fact, so thoroughly " checked " are most of our public officials that the people's liberties are safe from any serious danger.

Can you find legislative, executive, and judicial departments in your home, your church, your school, or a big business concern? Are there any "checks and balances" in these organizations? if not, why not?

QUESTIONS

Define *government*. Would it be possible to get along without it? What specific functions does it perform? Explain *police power*. Define *law; sovereignty*. Who are the sovereigns in each of the leading nations? Define *constitution*. Explain the two kinds of constitutions.

What are the different types of national governments? Explain each and give an example if you can.

Show the differences in the form of organization of governments.

Outline the form of government of the United States. Of what

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[1] Notice that the President may disapprove a bill simply because some features of it seem to him unwise or unfair. The courts can set aside a law only when in their opinion the Constitution has given no authority for Congress to pass it.

are the states composed? Make a diagram that will show the relation of the nation, the states, and their subdivisions.

Name and explain the departments of government. Give examples of each in the national government, the state, and your own community.

Explain the principle of checks and balances. Why do we have this? Can it be carried too far?

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Effect of the Great War on the Governments of the World.

The Benefits of Democracy.

A Sketch of the Changes in Government in France, Japan, China, Russia, or Germany.

CHAPTER III

THE CITIZEN — HIS RIGHTS AND DUTIES

The great city is that which has the greatest man or woman.
— Whitman.

14. Explanations. — It is to-day a principle recognized the world over that, with a few exceptions, every person within the limits of a country is bound to obey the laws and respect the authority of that country's government. But all persons within the borders of a country do not stand in the same relation towards its government. The inhabitants of a country may be divided into two groups — citizens and aliens.

The *citizen* is entitled to full protection from the government wherever he may be and may exercise various privileges which are not guaranteed to others. In return he must give his undivided allegiance and support to the authority of his government and if necessary may be called upon to serve it directly. Our Constitution says that all persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens of the United States and of the state in which they live.

Does that mean you? If you are a citizen when did you become one?

The *alien* is a foreign-born resident of a country who has not given allegiance to its government. Ordinarily the government protects his life and property as long as he is within its limits, but is under no compulsion to give him any special privileges or assume any responsibility for him outside our own territory. An alien is usually not compelled to support this government by rendering military or other

special service, but must obey our laws the same as any other person.

As to the right to transfer citizenship and allegiance from one government to another, the nations of the world have not always agreed. Before the so-called War of 1812, England maintained "Once an Englishman, always an Englishman," and her insistence upon this was one of the

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ADMINISTERING THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO ALIENS DESIRING CITIZENSHIP.

In New York, where this picture was taken, and in every other large city in the country, there was a great rush of aliens to be naturalized after war with Germany became imminent. A large number of the applicants were Germans and Austrians.

causes of that war. Some European countries still hold that doctrine, though England herself has long ago adopted the view of the United States. We have always held that a person has the rights of expatriation and naturalization — that is, of giving up his allegiance to the country of his birth and acquiring citizenship in another country.

15. Acquisition of Citizenship. — There are in all five ways by which persons have received American citizenship at some time or other.

(1) By birth in the United States;

(2) By being born of American parents who were living abroad; (In this case, if the child continues to live in a foreign country, he must choose when he becomes of age the country in which he wishes to enjoy citizenship);

(3) By naturalization;

(4) By marriage, in the case of a woman, for it is considered in law that a woman who marries a man of a different nationality receives the nationality of her husband;

(5) By annexation, when the treaty of annexation, as in the case of the Louisiana Purchase, gave citizenship in the United States to all its inhabitants. This last provision is not invariable, for when the Philippines were annexed Congress declined to recognize the Filipinos as American citizens and was sustained by the Supreme Court in that attitude.

United States of America.

STATE OF NEW YORK.

In the Matter of the Application of

Antonio Guarino

to be admitted to become a Citizen of the United States of America

It is Ordered, That the said Antonio Guarino

In Testimony Whereof,

Copy of a Naturalization Certificate.

16. **Naturalization.** — The process of naturalization is briefly as follows: When a foreigner desires to become an

American citizen, he must, if over 18 years old, go before a state or federal court and formally declare his intention of abandoning his allegiance to the government under which he was born and of becoming a citizen of the United States.

By the time he has lived in the United States at least five years, providing that not less than two years have passed since he filed his declaration of intention, he may again appear in court, take the oath of allegiance to the United States, and receive his certificate of naturalization. This process makes him fully a citizen of the United States, with every privilege that a native-born citizen has except of becoming president or vice-president.

When a foreign-born married man is naturalized, it is understood that his wife and any children under 21 years of age are made American citizens by the same process. Only whites and negroes may be naturalized. Anarchists are excluded.

What are the reasons for the last restriction? Do you think the requirements for naturalization are strict enough? In what ways might an American citizen lose his citizenship? Should a married woman's citizenship depend on that of her husband?

17. **Rights of Citizens.** — A citizen of the United States is also a citizen of the state in which he lives, though if living abroad he possesses only national citizenship. Commonly we do not think of any distinction between state and national citizenship. Yet when a person moves from one state to another he may find that his rights as a citizen are not exactly the same in the new state, though his national citizenship has not been affected at all. We can summarize practically all the rights of citizenship guaranteed by the national and the state constitutions under three general heads:

(1) **Personal Security.** — Every citizen has the right to enjoy life, health, and a good reputation, and no one may by any unjust act deprive him of them. If that is attempted, he may ask the state to protect him. Even the government itself may not take the citizen's life, liberty,

or property " without due process of law." His house may not be searched unless a warrant has been issued for that purpose. Soldiers may not be quartered there without his consent except in time of war, and then only if he is properly paid for any loss he suffers. He may keep and bear arms for his own defense.

WARNING SIGN.

Under what circumstances should a man be allowed to carry a deadly weapon?

If he is accused of crime, he must be indicted by a grand jury (§156) before he is tried. He is entitled to a trial by jury and to have a lawyer and witnesses in his behalf. He cannot be compelled to testify against himself. If he is once acquitted, he cannot be tried again for the same offense. Excessive bail must not be demanded when he is under arrest, and if he is convicted, no cruel and unusual punishment may be inflicted or unreasonable fine imposed.

(2) **Personal Liberty.** — A citizen may go wherever he wishes and do whatever he desires, so long as he violates no law of the state and does not interfere with the equal rights of others. No man may be held as a slave. Every citizen may worship as he pleases. He has the right of free speech, a free press, and freedom to meet with other citizens and to petition the government to relieve injustice.

Why are people sometimes arrested for holding meetings?

Should a man have the right to work when, for whom, and for what price he pleases?

The writ of *habeas corpus*, inherited from England, is regarded as a sacred privilege to be used in defense of both the rights we have mentioned. If a person is arrested and held in prison, his friends may go before a judge and secure a writ, or order, commanding the officer in charge of the

prisoner to bring him before the judge for a hearing. The judge will then decide whether the prisoner shall be tried at once, let out on bail, or treated in some other reasonable way.

The object of the writ of *habeas corpus* is to prevent the holding of a person in prison indefinitely without giving him a trial. In time of war or other serious public danger, when it may be necessary to keep men under guard who are suspected of disloyalty, spying, or other offensive conduct, the writ may be suspended.

Read the story of "Coxey's army" in Washington in 1894. Was their treatment a violation of these rights?

(3) **Private Property.** — A citizen is free to acquire, make use of, and dispose of, possessions of any kind, in a lawful and honorable way, without interference from any one. This right is fundamental, like the others, for upon it rests the entire foundation of modern business and trade. The government itself is forbidden to take private property, even for public use, without fair payment.

Under what conditions should a man not be permitted to use his private property in any way that suits him?

If your rights in the use of property conflict with another man's right to life, health, or happiness, which should give way?

Every governmental organization — city, county, state, or nation — may exercise the right of *eminent domain*, however, and sometimes this is granted to private corporations. Under this power the government may take, even against the owner's wish, all or a part of a piece of property, but if there is any difference of opinion about its value the government will have the value determined by a special board or committee and then force the owner to accept that amount.

Discuss the limitations which must be accepted to any of these rights in order to permit others the equal enjoyment of them. Should we have rights against our governments as well as against persons? Does the citizen exist for the benefit of his country

or the government for the benefit of the citizen? Are all men created equal? with equal rights? Is there danger that in time of peace citizens will be denied any of their rights?

18. The Duties of Citizens. — Most people think and talk more about their own rights than about the rights of others or their own duties. It would not be fair to leave our discussion of citizenship without suggesting the fact that rights and opportunities bring obligations along with them. Sometimes people do not get all their rights. Sometimes, though rarely, an innocent man is sent to prison. But far more common are those who sneak out of the performance of their just duties and who treat the opportunities of a free country as so many more chances for selfish advancement.

The "square deal" ought to be the aim of every citizen. We talk often, for example, about the "right" to vote. Voting is *not* a right. It is a privilege which the state gives to those whom it considers fitted to exercise it. And it is a privilege which every voter ought to exercise with care, thoughtfulness, and honesty. It is a citizen's duty, if he has the voting power, to use it, and to use it only after he has thought carefully about the issues of an election and the men who are candidates for office.

Should voting be made compulsory?

When men have been elected and laws are made, it is a citizen's duty to respect their authority. If he does not like them, he has the privilege of trying to get them changed by the peaceful means that are open to every citizen, but he has no right to refuse outright to obey them.

Europeans say we are the most lawless people in the civilized world. Is that true? Whether true or not, is it complimentary? Does the amount of law in existence affect the extent of a citizen's rights? What do you think the Declaration of Independence meant in saying that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed"?

19. Some Questions on Citizenship. — Preaching, of the style that dictates to a man what he ought and ought not to do, is sometimes less effective than quietly dropping a hint which will make him think the thing out for himself. We are therefore going to put the rest of our treatment of this topic in the form of questions, asking you to think about them and answer them honestly.

Should a person pay taxes willingly? Does the world owe every man a living, regardless of how much he does himself? Is it a man's duty to serve as a juror, if he is summoned? Is a line of conduct justifiable in business or politics which is unjustifiable in private life? Is it a citizen's duty to give information to the authorities about law-breakers? Is it ever a citizen's right or duty to take the law into his own hands? Should a public officer enforce some laws and neglect others? How can you, as a citizen not yet in full possession of all the rights and privileges of citizenship, best help in the cause of good government and social welfare? Does it make any difference to the community if you are careless about your own health or property?

QUESTIONS

Give a definition of *citizen*. Who are citizens in the United States? Are you? In what respects do the duties or privileges of an alien differ from those of a citizen? What difference of opinion has existed between nations in regard to transferring citizenship? When this takes place, what should be the citizen's feeling toward the land of his first citizenship?

By what means have persons at some time or other acquired American citizenship?

Explain the process of naturalization. Under what circumstances might an alien become naturalized without any act of his own? Who may not be naturalized?

To what extent is a person's citizenship affected by moving from one state to another?

Explain the three general rights of American citizenship. Give four or five special applications of each general right. Explain

habeas corpus; eminent domain. Show with each special right the limits which are placed upon it by the equal rights of others.

Which are more important, rights or duties? Are voting, office holding, and obedience to the laws, rights, duties, or both?

Do you think of any other important questions relating to the duties of a citizen besides those in section 19?

Give a brief convincing statement of the reasons why a study of Civics is essential for every school pupil.

SPECIAL TOPICS

A Naturalization Court. (If copies of the form to be filled out by an alien at his declaration of intention, or of a naturalization certificate, can be secured, it will make the matter seem more real.)

German-Americans during the Great War.

Patriotism in War Time.

Patriotism in Peace.

Community Welfare. — We shall next discuss some of the special problems that every community deals with or ought to deal with. In considering these we shall have a fine chance to observe the opportunities that exist for every citizen, old and young, to contribute his little bit toward making his community the prettiest, cleanest, happiest place that it can possibly become. No one should be satisfied with less than that, even if he does not realize his ambitions. "Watch your step," as the saying is, and be sure it is no fault of yours that your community is less fine a place than it can be.

In taking up the subjects that follow — the "elements of community welfare," they are often called — let us observe in each case how they apply to our community. Is it as good as it might be? If not, whose fault is it? Can any improvement be made, and how? Is there anything we can do about it as individuals? If we can bring these matters right home to ourselves, we can make our study exceedingly profitable in all the things that make for good citizenship. We can show our patriotism just as truly in doing so as in learning poems about the flag and celebrating the Fourth of July, worthy as those endeavors may be. Let our loyalty and good will appear in doing both the things that every one sees and the quieter, harder things that few may ever know about.

PART II

ELEMENTS OF COMMUNITY WELFARE

CHAPTER IV

THE PLANNING OF THE COMMUNITY

We are concerned . . . with making our cities year by year in their physical arrangement and equipment, healthier, pleasanter, and more economical instruments for the use of the people who dwell within them. — F. L. Olmstead.

20. Importance of Community Planning. — Convenience, health, and beauty are three notable objects to be attained in laying out a city or town. If a city is laid out properly in the first place, one needs to waste little time following the windings of "corkscrew" streets, and can go almost directly from any important place to almost any other. To the modern business man, in a very real sense, "time is money." A well-planned city saves both time and energy for its citizens.

Again, in some communities thousands or even hundreds of thousands of people herd together in rickety tenements on narrow alleys and close-built streets, where in the hot days of summer a real breath of fresh air or a cooling breeze is a veritable godsend, and the smallest patch of green grass is like a bit of heaven, where at any season of the year the darkened rooms and close contact of the people make it as easy as possible for everybody to acquire his neighbor's ailments and vices.

But in a properly planned community the streets are wide

enough and well enough arranged to allow the winds to sweep through and clear away the foul air. Buildings are not permitted which force their tenants to live without pri-

Two Types of Back Yards.

These scenes are only a few blocks apart.

vacy and comfort, without fresh air and light and safety. Every house need not sit up so close to the next that a street is almost like a continuous wall. A small back yard

with perhaps a little garden can furnish rest and pleasure to every workingman if other thoughts than money-grabbing are at work when his part of the city is laid out.

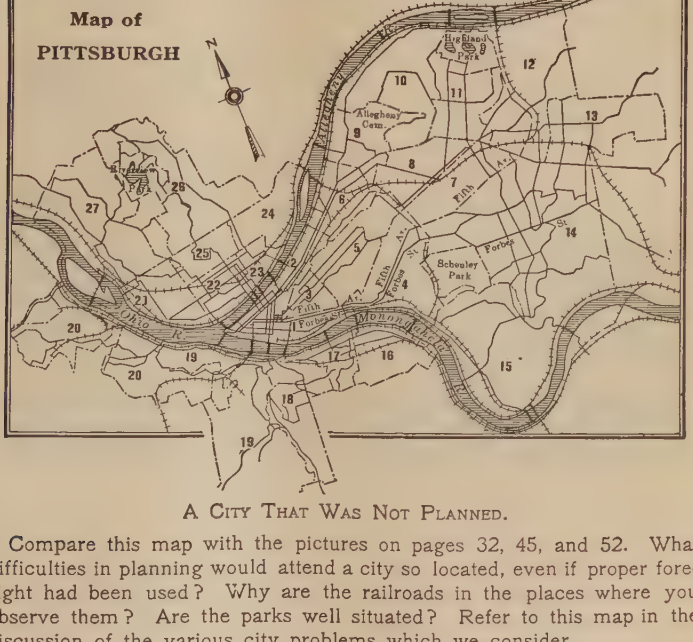
Beauty is almost as easy to have as ugliness. If some one plans it soon enough, a river-bank, kept like a park, can advertise the attractiveness of a city instead of presenting a waterfront that is an eyesore to a traveler. Tree-lined avenues can give shade from the burning sun and add their natural beauty and dignity to the whole city instead of serving simply as thoroughfares for travel. Buildings can follow the lines of art in their construction and stand in right relation and proportion to their surroundings instead of being notable for nothing but size or ugliness.

In the picture on page 42, notice how the irregularity of the buildings detracts from the appearance of an otherwise well-planned street.

21. Notable Examples. — Most communities were not planned. They just happened. It is striking to note the difference within the same community, when we compare the older part of it with the part that was laid out since people began to realize that city planning is important. Boston and Pittsburgh are good examples of cities that merely "happened." One can easily accept the tradition that Boston's streets follow the lines of old cow-paths, when he looks at a map of the city, or better still when he tries to get around in the city before he has been there long enough to get "the lay of the land."

The older part of New York city shows somewhat the same state of affairs, in contrast with the later portions, where the long avenues run north and south and are crossed at right angles by streets numbered in regular order. Philadelphia is another city that is laid out on the checkerboard plan, at least that portion of it between the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers. We find evidence of planning in some smaller cities, as well as in the newer sections of the larger ones.

The one fine example of a well-planned American city is Washington, conceived by the genius of the Frenchman, Major L'Enfant. The Capitol is the center of the city's plan. Streets running north and south intersect at right angles with others running east and west. To vary the



A City That Was Not Planned.

Compare this map with the pictures on pages 32, 45, and 52. What difficulties in planning would attend a city so located, even if proper foresight had been used? Why are the railroads in the places where you observe them? Are the parks well situated? Refer to this map in the discussion of the various city problems which we consider.

Black figures show the number of each ward.

monotony of the scheme, and to promote the beauty and convenience of the plan, a system of diagonal avenues intersects the "checkerboard." Where the avenues and streets come together, little parks known as "circles" are formed. Really a beautiful city is our national capital.

Some of the European capitals have also gained a reputation for their beauty and convenience. Paris is now one

of the finest cities of the world in appearance. Its boulevards are world-famous. Perhaps no street in any city is better known than the beautiful Champs Elysées in the great French capital. Yet in most instances large parts of this city had to be remade and boulevards constructed at great expense in order to atone for the neglect and lack of foresight of monarchs centuries ago. London is indebted even to such a great calamity as the fire of 1666 for a chance to rebuild

What Some Communities Have to Contend With.

on a bigger and better scale. San Francisco had a similar opportunity in 1906, of which, however, she only partly took advantage.

22. **Topographical Difficulties.** — It is easier to say how a community should be laid out than it is to fit any plan to the geographical peculiarities of some cities. A plan that could be adopted for level ground like that on which Philadelphia is situated would be utterly out of the question for San Francisco or Seattle or Boston, with their hills. Take a combination of three rivers, steep hills, and gullies carved by nature in the midst of these hills, such as Pittsburgh has to contend with, and he would be a genius indeed who could

work out in advance a plan for scientifically laying out a great city at that place.

A city located on an ocean or lake frontage, with a harbor, has to keep its business district in proper touch with its wharves, and yet, if possible, not force its residential sections away from the sight and breezes of the water. A town situated on both sides of a river has a still different problem to deal with. Sometimes conditions below the earth's surface require that substantial business blocks be built at a certain place in order to give them a solid foundation. When that is the case, the plan of the city simply must be adapted to that fact. We can say in general not much more than this — that a community is well planned if it is suited to its surroundings and makes them minister to the convenience and health and sense of beauty of its people.

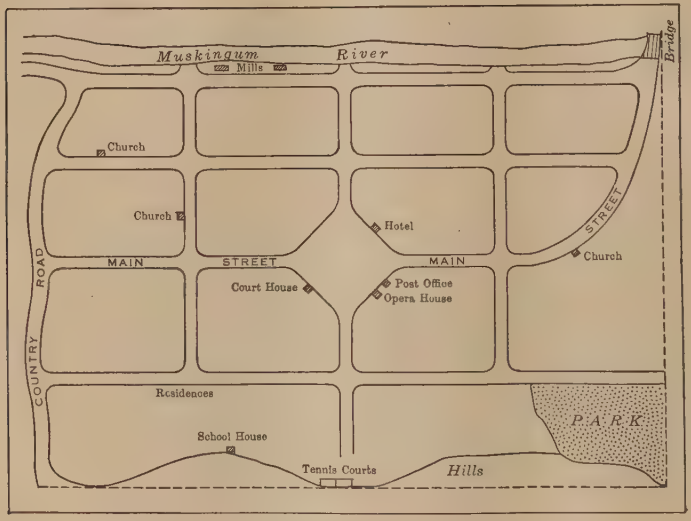
What traces of this problem do you find in your own community?

23. Systems of Street Planning.—The checkerboard system of laying out streets has met much favor in many places. It is the simplest method of securing regularity, and makes it easy to identify any particular spot. Especially if an orderly scheme of naming the streets is observed and the plan of letting each block count for 100 in numbering houses is employed, even a stranger would have little excuse for getting lost. The most serious objections to this system are the monotony of appearance which it produces and the necessity of going around too many right angles in getting anywhere.

But if this plan is modified by laying out diagonal avenues from the heart of a city to its outer corners and by constructing boulevards to encircle the city and reach its beauty spots, it is likely to serve a greater variety of conditions than any other. Some people like the spider-web as a model for laying out a city's streets, but it is seldom used. The "ring street," which goes all the way around a city, has been constructed in some European cities on the ground occupied

by the wall and moat which surrounded the city in medieval times.

What system of naming and numbering streets seems best to you? How would your system work if applied to Pittsburgh or McConnelsville? What systems are used in any communities that you know about?



SKETCH OF MCCONNELSVILLE, OHIO.

This is an example of the small middle western community. Does it seem to be well planned? Discuss its main features.

24. Civic Centers. — The idea of having a civic center appeals strongly to city planners of to-day. By this term is meant a group of public buildings such as a courthouse, city hall, post office, library, or other institution frequently used by the people, located where they will be convenient of access by street car or otherwise from all sections of the city. This will naturally be at the point where some of the most important streets intersect. If these buildings are well arranged and a small park with fountains, monuments, and the like, laid out, a sense of unity and an

appreciation of beauty will be promoted in the minds of the people more than by almost any other means.

In a large city it would be undesirable, of course, to have every library, school, and museum crowded into one section. In that case several smaller centers should be created to

Courtesy of Pennsylvania Railroad Company

"THE SQUARE," CLEVELAND, OHIO.

serve different sections of the city. Parks and playgrounds are likewise needed, so placed that all the people can enjoy them without great expense for carfare or waste of time.

25. City Zones. — A suggestion which has been adopted in several European cities and has been recommended for our own is that the city should be divided into zones. Each

zone is set apart for a certain purpose — one for factories, another for business houses, another for residences of a certain kind, and so on. This plan helps to keep the value of property in a district fairly stable, for then only one sort of buildings may be erected in one section.

As it is now in most of our cities, a man may build an attractive house in a pleasant residence district only to have his neighbor sell out to an automobile company which puts up a public garage on the lot. The value of the residence property in that vicinity at once drops disastrously, and nobody but the automobile firm is any better off. This is grossly unfair. To crowd all business places into one section of a very large city would be extremely inconvenient, but enough business zones to serve all sections could be permitted, and business buildings kept out of the purely residential districts. New York was the first large American city to take up this problem officially. In 1916 the making of a comprehensive zone plan for the city was accomplished.

Make a large map of your city or neighborhood, showing as we proceed every point of interest or importance — attractive and unattractive sections, schools, churches, saloons, factories, etc.

26. Possibilities of Improvement. — Perhaps you think that all this talk of city planning is a waste of breath in a long-established community. It is true that it is more work, and costs more, to tear down buildings in order to lay out a broad, beautiful avenue than it would have been if the avenue had been planned before the buildings were erected. Yet a city seldom regrets improvements after they are made, if the money which they cost has been honestly spent for good work.

No matter what natural difficulties a city may labor under, it can do great things, if it will, to overcome unfavorable surroundings. Three times Pittsburgh pared off the "Hump," as a steep hill that hemmed in its business section was called, and the same city has raised several of its streets many feet to keep them above the floods of the Allegheny

river. Boston has filled in its Back Bay and changed it into one of its most attractive sections. New York has allowed tubes and tunnels to be built under the Hudson and the East rivers, and up and down the whole rocky back of Manhattan Island. Seattle washed away the greater part of a hill which stood between its business district and a part of its water front. Los Angeles, having no harbor, reached

Cutting the "Hump," Pittsburgh.

out twenty miles and annexed one, spending millions of dollars to improve it.

Yet the cost and trouble of all this work is a constant reminder to every community that it is good sense to think ahead, to reason out the direction in which a city is likely to grow, and to plan for a growing and beautiful city rather than a stagnant and ugly town. After a community's business streets are all built up closely, it is like crying over spilt milk to bewail their narrowness and congestion. If a town, when it grew, left no place for parkways or breathing-spaces in its crowded districts, there is not much hope that

business houses will be torn down and trees and grass and flowers put in their place.

Is there anything which your community can do or ought to do to improve its physical appearance or arrangement? Draw an ideal plan for your own community, or for some other real or imaginary place.

27. The Laying Out of Streets. — A city or borough council or other similar authority must generally authorize or order the laying out or paving of streets. If a very exten-

A City Street Before Improvement.

sive piece of work of this kind is undertaken, money is often secured by selling bonds, on which interest must be paid for a long term of years. But more commonly the property owners whose lots will be benefited by the improvement are asked to stand the expense to an amount corresponding to the increased value of their property. Extra expense beyond that sum will be paid from the public treasury.

Sometimes, when a house or lot is damaged by cutting through a new street or changing the grade of an old one, the owner will be paid by the city instead of having to con-

tribute to the cost of the improvement. After a street has been laid out and paved, the cost of keeping it in repair is usually borne by the local government.

The main purpose for which a street is to be used determines largely its width, general plan of construction, and kind of paving. A street in a residential district where there is little heavy travel can be constructed less expensively and need not be so wide as a business street, unless special provision is made for trees, grass plots, and uncommonly wide

The Same Street After Paving.

sidewalks. Thirty feet from one curbstone to the other is a fairly satisfactory width for such a street.

To furnish variety and add to the beauty of a district it is well to have some residential streets of more than ordinary width, with plenty of provision for trees and perhaps a stretch of grass or a row of flower beds in the middle of the street. Streets on which street railway tracks are laid should be several feet wider than would otherwise be necessary. A residential street is much more attractive if the houses are not crowded close upon the sidewalk, and

if they are not all of the same construction. Grass, trees, flowers, and shrubs add to the attractiveness of any street.

The main item for consideration in the business street is convenience, but that does not need to mean that all trees and everything else suggestive of beauty must be removed. Some business streets do not need to be broader than the main residential highways, but the most important business

Street Repairs Under Way.

streets ought to be at least 100 feet wide. They must generally permit two lines of car tracks, and should have room on each side for at least two lines of vehicles to pass, one of automobiles or other fast travel, and one nearer the sidewalk for slower traffic.

In many of our large cities much narrower streets than this are the rule, but the city with narrow streets must put up with delays in traffic and other inconveniences which a better planned city need not suffer to such a degree. A city that has to be encumbered with an elevated railroad should by all means keep it off the main business streets, or they will not be able to accommodate the ordinary surface traffic.

Many cities are troubled, too, by delays to street cars when stubborn wagon drivers keep their teams on the car tracks as long as they possibly can.

How often are your streets repaired, and by whom? Draw a plan of a good business street; of a residential street.

28. **Street Paving.** — The proper surface for a street depends upon the principal uses to which it is put. A street

Attractive Residential Street.

that is to be used for heavy teaming must be paved with material that will stand hard pounding. Block stone or cobble stone seem to be necessary for such streets, particularly if they have any noticeable grades, in spite of the roughness and noise which cannot be avoided with such paving.

Some cities have experimented with wood blocks on their business streets. These are generally made of yellow pine treated with some kind of creosote or tar preparation which adds greatly to their wearing quality. They are smooth and almost noiseless, and if they prove durable they will be

very popular. For streets whose chief traffic is automobiles or light wagons sheet asphalt is very commonly used,

WIDE BUSINESS STREET.

Observe how the irregularity of the buildings mars the appearance of an otherwise attractive thoroughfare. A narrow business street is shown on page 274.

A COBBLE STONE STREET.

See other types of paving on pages 39, 43, 44, 45, 47, 57, 261, and 264.

especially in the residential districts. It is attractive in appearance, smooth, and not very noisy, but is not safe to use on grades that are at all steep.

Brick pavements are found in both residential and business streets. They are comparatively easy to repair and cost considerably less than the kinds above mentioned. Some

Laying Wood Block Pavement.

Preparing the Street for Paving.

city streets, as well as many park roads and country highways, are macadamized; that is, their top coating is made of fine crushed stone rolled hard and perhaps treated with a

tar or oil preparation to bind it together and keep down the dust.

There is much more in paving than simply laying down the surface material. The street must often be dug down a foot or more and carefully graded. For a block stone, wood block, or brick street, concrete several inches thick is commonly put in as a base, and covered with a layer of sand of sufficient thickness to serve as a cushion. On this the surface material is placed.

DETAILS OF ASPHALT PAVING

For asphalt or macadamized streets the bottom layer is composed of several inches of concrete, or broken stone

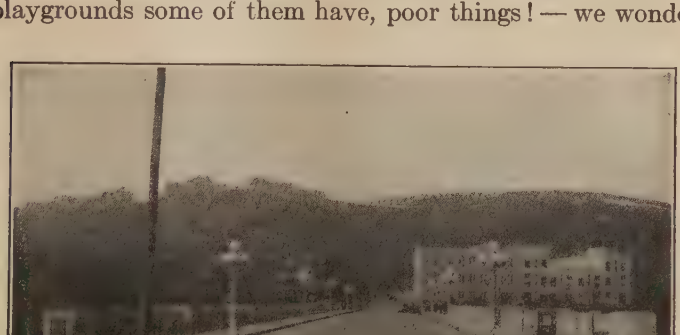
Concrete Alley Pavement.

This is not as clean as even an alley should be.

not larger than an egg. Asphalt is generally of two grades, a coarse material which covers the broken stone, and a finer kind for the surface. This must be thoroughly rolled and allowed to harden before it is used.

What kind of pavement would you prefer in front of your own house or place of business?

29. Street Cleaning. — Streets littered with paper or strewn with all kinds of dirt indicate that the people of a community are either shamefully lazy or distressingly ignorant. It is discouraging to try to keep a lawn looking attractive if the street in front is filthy. Beauty in any form is almost out of the question, and, worse than that, the health of the residents on that street is menaced. When we see children playing in some of our streets — the only playgrounds some of them have, poor things! — we wonder



ASPHALT PAVEMENT.

This kind of street is easy to clean.

not that disease is common among them, but how they keep well at all.

About the surest way to clean a street is to have the work done by men employed by the city, who go over its whole surface with their brooms and carts. But the work of these "white wings," as they have been nicknamed, must be slow and therefore rather expensive. Machines with revolving brushes have been invented which sweep the dirt toward the curb, where it can be shoveled into wagons by men following the sweeper. A few places have used a kind of vacuum sweeper on the streets. The sprinkling wagon

does nothing more than lay the dust for a little while, and when the street has dried the traces of mud may be more noticeable than ever.

See the "white wing" at work in the picture on page 277. Does any blame rest on you if your street is not clean?

If the pavement is of a kind that will stand it, the water may be turned on the street from the fire plugs and the dirt thoroughly washed away. Some cities clean out their main business streets in this way at night when there will be little

Cluster Lights at Night.

interruption from wagons or automobiles. By some means the dust must be kept down and the heavier dirt removed. A preparation of oil does this work reasonably well on a dirt road, but on other kinds of streets some of the methods we have mentioned must be used. Each community must do its own experimenting and find what suits its own needs best.

Northern cities have in winter the problem of removing the snow from the streets, for in the big cities it does not stay long enough or pack down sufficiently hard to make the use of sleighs feasible for any length of time. Work of this kind usually comes all at once, and in many places the city hires extra men for this special purpose, rather than use the regular street employees. The snow may be dumped

into a river or a vacant lot. The idea seems to be, "Anywhere to get it off the streets."

Does it make any difference whether the snow and ice are cleaned off the sidewalk in front of your house?

30. Street Lighting. — Any one who has stumbled along a dark or dimly lighted street at night, looking for the number of a house which he wished to visit, realizes how im-

BRICK PAVEMENT.

This is fairly smooth, inexpensive, and safer on grades than asphalt. This picture shows one type of street lamp. See also page 297.

portant it is that streets should be well lighted. Attractiveness in appearance at night is another motive, for there is a certain glamour about a "great white way" that interests people in a community which tries to look well by night as well as by day. But more essential than either of these reasons is the necessity of restraining crime. A well lighted community has much less law-breaking than one that tries to economize on light. Good street lights are worth dozens of policemen.

It is a long look from the old whale oil or kerosene oil lamps which once fitfully gleamed over a very limited area on the main streets of our cities to the powerful arc lamps or clusters of lights which illumine the highways of our best cities to-day. Between the oil lamp and the electric light came the gas lamp, and this is still in use, especially in the regions where natural gas is abundant. But generally some form of electric light is preferred. Whether it shall be the arc lamp swung from a pole, a single globe at the top of a post, or a cluster of globes in some attractive shape, each locality must settle for itself, taking into account the point to be served in each instance.

If beauty is a special object to be sought, some form of cluster arrangement is likely to serve best. Whatever plan is used, the lights must not be placed too high above the street or walk which is to be illumined. Whether the city shall maintain its own electric light plant or purchase the power from private companies is another question which each community must settle for itself.

What kind of lighting does your community have? Is the lighting plant owned by the town or by a private company?

31. Franchises and Their Evils. — A franchise is a definite grant of power or privilege made by the government to a private individual or corporation. Often the privilege of voting is correctly referred to by this name, but at this time we are not using the word in that sense. If a city government does not provide certain necessary things for its citizens itself, it must allow private citizens or companies to do this work, even though they will have to use the streets or other public property. The formal grant of the right to do this is called a franchise.

A street railway company, for example, gets a franchise permitting it to lay tracks on certain streets and run cars over them, and a telephone company gets a franchise entitling it to put up poles and string wires along them.

The work undertaken under franchises like this has so often seemed of great service to the people that in their joy at getting the thing done they have overlooked the possibility that the company getting the franchise might make itself the master instead of the servant of the people.

Courtesy of Am. Tel. & Tel. Co.

BROAD STREET, PHILADELPHIA, IN THE '80's.

The wires spoiled the appearance of the street and were a constant menace to traffic and to pedestrians. On page 279 is a picture of the same street to-day. Ten times as many wires are now needed, but they are underground and endanger no one.

They have forgotten that since the company could not make money except from the people themselves, the people had a right to expect a reasonable return from the privileges which they gave to the company.

Franchises have been granted for ridiculously long terms, such as 99 or even 999 years, and sometimes without a cent of recompense coming back to the city. Worse than all, these franchises have sometimes been obtained by outright bribery or by giving a city councilman stock in the concern

which was to receive the franchise. Unless the company having a franchise openly violates some of its terms, the city must sit by helplessly and put up with poor service, realizing too late that it has been generous to its own disadvantage.

Courtesy of Am. Tel. & Tel. Co.

LAYING DUCTS FOR UNDERGROUND TELEPHONE CABLE.

To remedy such evils cities are to-day seldom granting franchises for more than twenty-five years and are insisting that the city may have the right to buy up the business itself after a certain time if it wishes, paying the company which had the franchise a reasonable sum for its property and its work. Either a share in the profits or some other form of payment is often asked, besides.

Pipes for gas or water are almost invariably put under ground. The idea of putting electric wires there also is becoming popular. Wires strung on poles may ruin the beauty of a street, besides being at times a menace to life and property. Telegraph and telephone companies, too, usually prefer to have their wires underground, if the change can be made without too great expense.

Should water, gas, or light companies be allowed to tear up a street any time they wish?

32. Water Transportation. — Seaports and lake ports and, to some degree, cities on navigable rivers, have problems

that do not bother other cities. The federal government spends millions each year dredging important (and sometimes unimportant) rivers and harbors to keep them in shape for navigation, and cities take much from their own treasuries for the same purpose. Many cities, particularly in the West, build and own one or more municipal docks, instead of allowing the entire water front to be occupied by private companies.

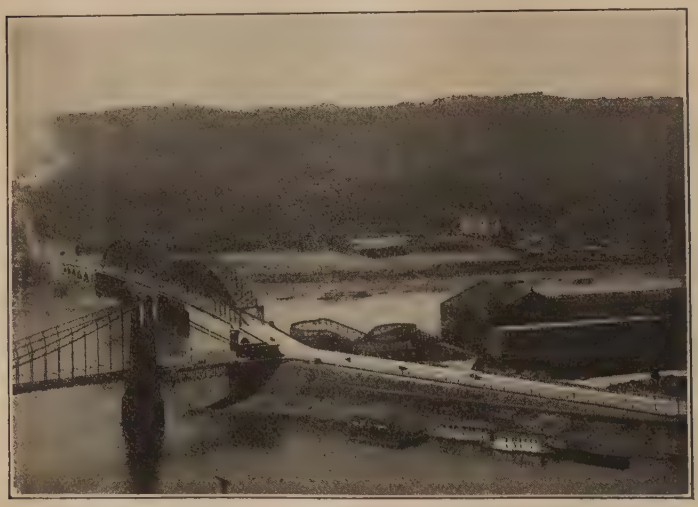
Locks in Canal around Rapids in the St. Lawrence River.

The Erie canal, stretching across New York state from the Hudson to Lake Erie, has been of tremendous importance to the cities whose trade has been specially affected by it. A similar waterway from Pittsburgh to Lake Erie would doubtless add marvelously to the already world-famous iron and steel center of Pittsburgh. Such a canal is under serious consideration, and may be started in a few years.

Within a city it is important to have easy communication between the docks and the railroads, so that freight may be readily exchanged between them. To do this without the very objectionable expedient of running trains on the streets of the city is no simple matter. A few cities, such as New Orleans and Philadelphia, have constructed a belt line railroad, which reaches all the wharves and all the railroad freight stations and furnishes the desired communication.

Could water transportation be improved anywhere so as to help your community in any way?

33. Bridges. — Communities located on large rivers meet another transportation problem in their bridges. If the river is navigable, the bridges should not be low enough to interfere with navigation. A city may sometimes have to choose between limiting its river navigation and putting up with inconvenience in trade and communication between



"The Point" Bridges, Pittsburgh.
Two rivers meet to form the Ohio.

the two banks of the stream. The importance of New York's great bridges to Long Island, of Pittsburgh's to its South Side and North Side, and of St. Louis's across the Mississippi, we are not likely to exaggerate. Ferries are too slow in these twentieth century days if we can have anything in their place.

When great bridges were constructed years ago, they were usually built by private companies, and toll was charged to passengers, whether in cars, in wagons, or on foot. But

most of these bridges have since been bought up by city or county and thrown open for the public to use without charge.

Pictures of old-fashioned bridges appear on pages 428 and 452. Construction work on new bridges is shown on pages 12 and 292.

34. Services of the Railroad. — Take away the railroad, and in a few years grass would grow in the streets of our

Dangerous Grade Crossing.

finest cities. Millions upon millions would be forced to go into the country to raise food crops for their very existence, and those who remained in the cities would be too poor to keep the fine streets in repair.

The railroad brings in the city's food, transports the city's manufactures far and wide to exchange for the products of other cities, and carries thousands of people morning and night from their homes outside the business center to store, office, or factory, and back again. Since it does all these and many other things for a city, it is no wonder that the railroad was allowed when it was first constructed to take

almost any land it needed and lay its tracks there, and to run its trains carrying freight or passengers right through the city's own streets.

But as time passed and communities grew, they discovered that the railroad brought disagreeable features as well as conveniences. Its freight yards were dirty and its switching engines were noisy. Its cars sometimes stood for long periods at a street crossing while exasperated wagon drivers or foot-passengers fretted and chafed. The lives of play-

Switch Yards.

ing children and careless adults were suddenly blotted out by other trains at the same grade crossings. Spur tracks from the main line to factories might cross a street almost anywhere and make travel rough and unpleasant. Shrieking whistles and clanging bells broke the city's quiet and robbed the people of rest day and night. Clouds of greasy black smoke or burning cinders poured from the engines, making everything grimy and sometimes setting houses on fire.

35. Improvements in the Railroad. — Yet we must have the railroad. How can we do away with its unpleasant

features and still retain all its helpful services? Railroad officials have taken up this problem themselves, and the best roads are now doing everything possible to please and serve the public, finding incidentally that such a policy often turns out to their own advantage financially.

Courtesy of Pennsylvania Railroad Company

BROAD STREET STATION, PHILADELPHIA.

This station is in the heart of the city, close to the City Hall. It is the headquarters of the great Pennsylvania Railroad System.

It is often an impossibility to run the road in such a place as not to inconvenience a community at all, on account of the peculiar formation of hills and valleys in the vicinity. But as far as they can, most railroads are trying to do no more harm than is necessary to natural scenery, and to make

their stations and yards beauty spots instead of eyesores. Through freight is carried around a great city instead of into it, thereby avoiding much congestion in the local yards. Sometimes even the main freight yards are kept wholly outside the crowded portion of the city.

A Suburban Station Platform and Tracks.

Millions of dollars have been spent to raise or lower the tracks where the dangerous grade crossings have been. Sometimes, as in New York, the trains enter and leave the main part of the city by a subway. Smoke consumers on the engines save money for the railroad and help people to keep clean. For several years the New York Central and New York, New Haven, and Hartford lines have used electric engines for several miles outside of New York, and these roads and others have seriously considered the use of electric power extensively, even outside the large cities and their suburbs.

A Grade Crossing Abolished.

But many of these improvements cost more than the railroad gets in return, and the people must expect to help pay for these changes and the constantly rising wages of railroad employees in higher fares and freight charges.

What improvements have been or might be made in the railroads in which your community is interested?

36. Street Railways. — It is physically impossible for the steam road to serve directly any wide area beyond its own lines, as far as local transportation is concerned. Besides, if its trains are to make good time, they cannot stop at enough places to suit the convenience of a great many.

Local street railway lines are therefore a necessity. Their development has been surprising. It is now possible for even a low-paid workman to live out of the crowded dis-

Block Stone Pavement.

trict in reasonably comfortable and healthful surroundings. The street railway can touch every section of a great city and make communication between all its parts easy and relatively quick. Some suburban lines run heavy cars that make almost the speed of the steam road.

Interurban lines between one city and another have been rapidly constructed, too. Not only do they serve the cities which they connect, but they contribute greatly to the comfort and convenience of the farming country between. Such lines usually carry both passengers and freight.

The social value of the street railway in the city and the suburban or interurban lines in enabling people to live in comfort in the open district amid conditions favorable to health and happiness is seldom given the credit it deserves.

The early street cars make us laugh when a relic of that early means of transportation is put on exhibition before us. They were small, cheap affairs drawn by horses. After a

Old Style Horse and Cable Cars.
This is a copy of a picture from about 1890.

time cable lines were constructed. The cable was underground, kept constantly in motion by powerful engines, and the cars had an appliance for gripping or releasing the cable when it was desired to move or stop. A city with steep hills like San Francisco found the cable a great benefit. In fact cable lines are still in use there and elsewhere on very steep grades.

But about 1886 electricity began to be tried as a motive power for street railways. The greater speed that was

possible and the other evident advantages of electric power caused a rapid substitution of electric for cable or horse power wherever it was possible, and now most lines use electric power.

The constantly growing traffic and the great number of wagons and automobiles using the streets of a city make street

Traffic on Fifth Avenue, New York

Notice the mounted policeman and the traffic man with his sign to direct the movement of traffic. Imagine the confusion if street cars went up and down the Avenue as well as across it. One of the Fifth Avenue "busses" appears in the picture.

car progress slow in the business districts, especially if the streets are narrow. As it is plain that surface lines alone cannot give satisfactory service, several large cities have constructed subway or elevated lines. London and Paris in Europe have famous subway systems.

Boston was the first city in this country to construct a subway, which is operated as a part of a combined system

of surface, subway, and elevated lines. Philadelphia also has a system constructed on the same principle. New York has extensive lines of both subways and elevated road, but they are operated separately. Chicago has an elevated system and is planning for a subway also.

Surface and underground conditions vary so much from city to city that a system which might be feasible in one place would be utterly out of the question in another. The many communities which have thought about constructing an elevated or subway line ought to consider all local conditions very carefully, for the undertaking is expensive, and a mistake likely to be ruinous.

What would you think of an ordinance forbidding wagons to be driven on street car tracks?

37. Quality of Street Car Service. — The quality of service afforded by street railway lines varies greatly. The city of Cleveland, due chiefly to the efforts of former Mayor "Tom" Johnson, for a time enjoyed a three-cent fare, and the lines still charge less than in many places. Los Angeles has excellent service in the city, and the interurban lines of the Pacific Electric Company running in all directions outside the city are in many respects the best interurban system in the world. Chicago after much discussion and disagreement has adopted a plan by which the city is to get a portion of the street car company's profits if they go beyond a certain per cent, and has the right to buy the lines after 25 years.

Some companies have more to contend with than others in the way of grades, curves, narrow streets, and similar difficulties. Sometimes when a company tries to do its best for the people to-day it is handicapped by past crookedness of management. A very serious and common evil has been the issuing of "watered" stock — that is, stock that does not represent actual money invested in the business. When a company tries to pay interest on a great deal of

watered stock and keep its service up to date in addition, the task is not easy.

The people are constantly demanding smoother, more substantial tracks, and more and better cars. A single modern car costs over $6000. Ownership of street railway lines

A Modern Low Floor Car.
See the double-decker on page 274.

by the city is favored by many people. San Francisco actually has a municipal line in addition to the lines of a private company.

Do you think automobiles have a noticeable effect on city life? Is the slogan, "No seat, no fare," a sensible one? Are "jitney busses" a nuisance or a blessing?

38. The Smoke Nuisance. — Proper planning of a community will take into account how to keep it looking attractive as well as how to get around in it or how to get more business. It once was the fashion to argue that smoke means business and business means prosperity. Pittsburgh once took a kind of pride in its nickname of "the Smoky City," for the smoke seemed to symbolize the city's industrial greatness. But Pittsburgh has learned better. It has heroically tried to remove this mark of waste and carelessness, with excellent results.

That smoke from soft coal is itself dangerous to health has not been positively proved. But anything that helps to keep a city dirty and shut out the sunlight cannot pro-

Before Smoke Regulation Was in Vogue.
The same view appears on the next page. Do you wonder this was called the "Smoky City"?

mote good health. The disastrous effect on the appearance of a community produced by unnecessary smoke needs no explanation. This dirtiness causes an unnecessary expense of thousands of dollars every month in a vain attempt to keep clean. The injury to plants and other growing things

and to property of any kind that is exposed counts up to millions more in a short time.

It is easier to say this evil should be reduced than it is to reduce it. Sometimes it is possible to substitute hard coal, coke, or oil for the soft coal commonly used, but only a few localities can avoid the difficulty in this way. The use of smoke consumers, improved furnaces, and more careful

Pittsburgh after a Season of Smoke Regulation.
For the change in a single factory, look on page 344.

methods of feeding coal to the furnaces causes much of the carbon to be consumed which otherwise would pass off in black smoke.

It is usually easy to induce a factory manager to use improved methods when he discovers that the change is going to be an actual money gain to his own business. Those who are stubborn and will not be convinced can be brought to terms by a few prosecutions. It therefore rests largely

with each community whether it will be grimy and ugly-looking or reasonably clean.

39. Trees and Parkways. — There are few more beautiful sights in a community than a street lined with rows of well-shaped, stately maples, oaks, or elms, with sufficient parkways, or grassy spaces to give the trees plenty of room and add their touch of green to a handsome highway. It takes years for such a street to reach its full glory, but it is well worth all the time and labor that it costs. Trees make the

New England Elms and Maples.

heat of summer more endurable and they purify the air, thus promoting the health of the people.

All trees are not equally desirable. The palm trees that help to make Los Angeles and Redlands and Riverside and some of the noble avenues of New Orleans so wonderfully attractive could not live much farther north. The elms and maples of New England do not do nearly so well in some other sections. But there are several varieties of these trees and of oaks which may each find a particular spot where it will show to specially good advantage. Some foresters recommend the oriental plane tree, though its time

of leafage is not so long as that of some others. The poplar or cottonwood finds friends when a rapidly growing tree is wanted, but it speedily loses them when its roots cause cement or concrete walks to crack and even find their way down into sewer pipes.

It seems to be best to put the matter of planting and caring for street trees in the hands of the local government rather than to leave it for each householder. In this way uniform-

A Scene in Los Angeles.

Palm and eucalyptus trees are in sight. For some other kinds of trees, see pages 265, 420, and 453.

ity of appearance in a street can be most surely obtained and much more intelligent care will be afforded. Keeping trees free from insects and other pests sometimes becomes a vexing problem, and this may be wholly neglected if left to private owners. It is not safe, either, to allow every householder, telephone lineman, or any other thoughtless person under the pretense of trimming a tree, to hack it until its beauty is gone.

Can you tell one tree from another? Point out some differences in leaf structure or manner of growth. What kinds of trees would you recommend for your community?

40. Unsightly Places. — Almost every community has some place which it prefers that the visitor should not see. It may be a dump where tin cans, papers, old shoes, and worse-smelling things are heedlessly thrown. It may be a mosquito-breeding swamp or mudhole. It may be a filthy alley, unpaved, dark, strewn with bottles, garbage, and slime.

Of course there is no sound reason why any place of this kind should exist; but because some people are lazy, some are

LEMON ALLEY.

This is its real name. It might be in any of several cities.

willfully defiant of decency, and some officers do not dare to enforce ordinances which prohibit these eyesores, they are all too common. To arouse a public sentiment which will protest vigorously against any toleration of such disregard of civic beauty and health is a work in which every child in school can have a part.

It is less easy to induce a bill-poster or advertising manager to refrain from destroying a beautiful landscape or offending one's sense of art by putting up gaudy billboards. The

manager wants to increase his business and thinks this is the easiest way to reach the people. The billboard man even declares that his signs add to the appearance of a street.

Perhaps it would be too much to insist that all advertising should be removed from the streets. But advertisements can at least be displayed in such a way as not to violate every sense of natural beauty and appropriateness. Why should a person, on coming out of a great library or church,

A Common Sight.

be confronted with the blazing query, "Eventually. Why not now?" or be informed that somebody's beer or cigarettes are popular favorites?

The billboard man and the owner of a house or vacant lot who allow their property to be used for such an objectionable purpose are equally guilty. A tax on billboards would probably reduce the number of them, and might be a step toward the removal of the most offensive. But after all, if the public would only refuse to patronize the advertiser who employs such undesirable means of reaching them instead of yielding to the suggestions inspired by his glaring advertisements, we could hit the evil more surely than in any other way. And

city ordinances which are enforced can punish with heavy fines those who use the space behind the billboard to dump refuse and rubbish to menace the health of the community.

What places in your community do you try to show to visitors? What places do you steer them away from?

Back of the Same Billboards.

Often the rubbish is much more objectionable than this.

41. Unnecessary Noise. — Just here we may mention very briefly another matter which many people probably think of as a necessary feature of city life — its noises. Heavy trucks rumbling over the streets and shaking the houses as they pass, flat wheels on street-cars and broken or uneven tracks, the ear-grating horns, whistles, and other noise-makers on automobiles and motorcycles, are but a few examples of noises which could either be prevented entirely or made much less disagreeable.

It goes without saying that the region around a hospital ought to be quiet and almost as necessarily the region around a school. But how many of either of these institutions in a city enjoy the quiet which they ought to have? Some European cities have strict ordinances covering this point,

but in America we are too apt to insist upon a person's right to make all the noise he wants to as if it were guaranteed him in the constitution. Baltimore has given some special attention to this phase of city attractiveness. No doubt other cities will do the same when they realize how much pleasanter, less tiresome, more homelike a city would be if it were rid of its unnecessary noises.

Are church bells a form of unnecessary noise? Are automobile horns?

In many communities a *survey*, which is a definite, thorough study of living conditions, industries, intellectual opportunities, and practically every other important phase of community life, has been undertaken. If this has been done in your community, make use of its reports and see whether they have done any good. Possibly your class can make some studies which, without being too ambitious, can be of real service to your community.

QUESTIONS

What are three objects to be attained in laying out a city? What benefits are derived from thoughtful planning in each of these respects?

Give examples of American cities that were planned and of cities that were not. Explain the plan of the city of Washington.

What are some of the difficulties that communities have to contend with in respect to proper planning? Is there any excuse for lack of good planning in such a city as Pittsburgh? Does the plan of McConnelsville impress you as well-arranged? Compare both of these places with your own community and with any others that you know.

What is a civic center? Is the idea a good one?

What is meant by zoning a city? How do you like the plan? Do you have it?

What chance is there for a community to improve its arrangement after it has grown large? Mention improvements that some cities have made. Does the plan of your community need correction? If it does, can it be made?

Who has the responsibility for constructing new streets? Who

stands the cost? Describe a pleasing residential street. What features should characterize a main business street and why?

Mention the principal kinds of materials used for paving streets and explain the uses for which each is best suited. What kinds do you have? Describe the foundation laid for paved streets.

What is the importance of street cleaning? By what methods is it done? What does your community do in this line? Does the snow problem affect your community? If so, how is it handled?

Why is a good street lighting system necessary? Describe some of the most common kinds of lamps now in use. What does your community have? What kind do you like best?

Define *franchise*. Mention some of the evils that have attended the granting of franchises, explaining the reasons for them. What remedies can you suggest?

What facilities do governments have to provide in order to encourage transportation by water? Discuss the problem of exchange of freight between docks and railroads.

Explain the importance of bridges to a community. Are toll bridges desirable?

Explain the importance of the railroad to a community. What disagreeable features does it possess? How can the unpleasant conditions be remedied?

Show the necessity of street railways to a large community. Of what special services are the interurban lines? What kinds of power have been used on street railway lines? What are the advantages of each? What are the reasons for the construction of subways and elevated roads? What communities have them? Why does the quality of service on street railways vary between cities? What special difficulties do some companies have to contend with? What examples of good and bad street car service are you familiar with?

Should a city take pride in being known as "the Smoky City"? Is your community troubled that way? How can we remedy the smoke evil?

Are billboards of any value to a community? Why do ugly looking places exist in many decent communities? If your community has them, is there anything you can do to get rid of them?

Is noise a necessary feature of city life? What are some noises which could be either removed or reduced? How?

SPECIAL TOPICS

A Plan of Our Community. (Every pupil should prepare one, making it as complete as possible.)

A Plan of an Ideal Community.

Plans of Other Communities than Our Own.

Streets and Their Care in Our Community.

What the Railroad Means to ——.

The Erie Canal.

Our Street Railways.

A Plan for Improving the Transportation System of ——.

Pipes and Wires in the Streets.

The Commerce of the Cities. (See McPherson, "Railroad Freight Rates.")

Interesting studies of several important communities in Hungerford's "Personality of American Cities."

The Location of the Railroad in the City.

Making —— a "City Beautiful."

Getting Rid of the Smoke.

Electric Power on the Great Railroads.

The Bridges of New York.

CHAPTER V

THE HEALTH OF THE COMMUNITY

The last century has been one of human achievement: the present century promises to be one of human improvement.
—Aronovici.

42. Death Rates. — It is not so many years since people simply waited in terror, nervous and hopeless, when an epidemic came upon a community. They looked on it as a mysterious working of Providence, to which they must submit without complaint, though they could not understand it. To-day we feel that an epidemic may indeed be the act of Providence, but we believe that the thing to do is to discover what law of health some one has violated and thereby has become responsible for the plague.

So successful have physicians and scientists become that the death rate for each thousand people has actually been reduced more than one half in less than fifty years, in most civilized countries. They have discovered that filthy drinking water is largely to blame for typhoid fever, that a kind of mosquito was the villain who carried yellow fever, that diphtheria and tuberculosis are neither of them so likely to be fatal as was once thought, if properly treated. The average length of life has been raised already several years.

The United States is still considerably below the best in this respect. The proportion of foreigners and colored people who know nothing about the laws of health is partly responsible for this fact, coupled with a similar ignorance in

the country districts among white Americans. The states of the Australian Federation and New Zealand show about the lowest death rates in the world. In this country Seattle has the best record among the large cities and New Orleans and Memphis the worst. The poor showing of the latter cities is partly due to the large colored population.

43. Control of Disease. — The problem of checking and controlling disease is largely left to the health authorities of cities and other local governments. Each community knows its own needs best in such a matter, though for the sake of protecting all its people the state ought to have power to direct the local community to do or not to do things that would vitally affect the well-being of the rest of the state. Almost all the states have a State Board of Health with about that kind of superior authority.

When a physician discovers a case of contagious or infectious disease, it is his duty to report the case at once to the local board of health or health officer, and have a quarantine established over that house. If the disease is serious, no one except the doctor and nurse may see the patient for a period of several weeks, and other persons must keep away from the house. Any who are known to have been exposed to the disease may also be quarantined until it is known whether they are to have it themselves. The health officers also notify the school authorities or other public organizations which might be concerned with any case, expecting them to assist in maintaining the quarantine. When a severe epidemic is threatened, the schools, churches, "movie-houses," and the like may be closed for a time.

The house where a serious contagious disease has occurred is generally fumigated before the quarantine card is removed and the occupants allowed to resume their former relations with other people. Large cities usually maintain public hospitals where those needing special attention or nursing may be taken. In some states private hospitals which

maintain free wards are assisted by appropriations from public funds.

If you were very sick, would you rather be in a hospital or at home? Why?

44. Prevention of Disease. — Far better than to cure a disease is to prevent it. Clean streets, pure water, a sufficient sewer system, the removal of garbage and rubbish, all may be provided by the local government to promote the health of the people as well as to improve the appearance of the community. Common drinking cups and common towels in public places, which have often been carriers of disease, are now generally forbidden by law. Ordinances against spitting on sidewalks, in street cars, and in public halls, are common, but unfortunately are often not enforced.

Do you believe that the law should compel every one to be vaccinated?

In putting up schoolhouses, tenements, theaters, and public buildings of all kinds it is now the custom for laws to require that a certain number of cubic feet of air space shall be allowed for each person in the place, and that sufficient means of ventilation shall be provided. Laws of this kind, if enforced, contribute greatly toward keeping people in good health and preventing disease.

Drainage and plumbing systems in private houses should be approved by plumbing inspectors or other health officers, so as to make sure that they comply with sound principles of sanitation.

Is the ventilation good in your home and school and the public places of your community? If not, can you do anything about it? Can a person control his own health?

45. Food Inspection. — Very important, too, in keeping up the health of the people is the quality of the food they eat. Nation, state, and city coöperate in this matter. Congress passed in 1906 the so-called pure food law which aims to prevent the selling of food products, drugs, and medi-

Sewers under Construction.

cines under misleading labels, and the use of poisonous or otherwise harmful ingredients in any food or drug. This law is enforced chiefly through the Bureau of Chemistry in the Department of Agriculture (§ 117). If the Bureau discovers that any dealer is violating the law, it informs the Department of Justice, so that the offender may be prosecuted.

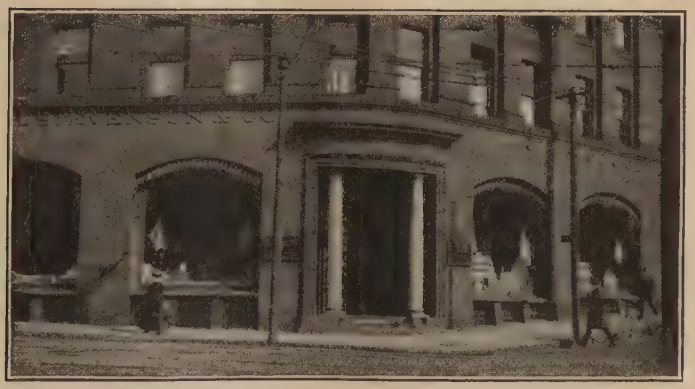
A Stockyard Scene.

A prospective purchaser is trying to learn the condition of the sheep.

But the national government, we must remember, can deal only with those articles that are transported in interstate commerce. Within the field thus limited it has accomplished a great deal. Under the Bureau of Animal Industry in the Department of Agriculture the inspection of meats at the great stockyards and slaughterhouses in Chicago, Kansas City, and other places is conducted.

Practically every state has an official or board with authority to inspect food products and see that food dealers

comply with the laws. Selling aged eggs or other cold storage commodities as if they were fresh; offering oleomargarine for sale as butter, or renovated butter or filled cheese as if it were the regular, fresh article; putting on the market diseased meat or flesh from an animal that was not killed; or trying to sell decayed meat, fruit, or vegetables; — these are all contrary to law in most states, and state officers are chiefly responsible for the detection and punish-



WELL-KEPT GROCERY.

Everything is in order. No goods are exposed to flies or dirt. For the opposite kind of conditions see page 119.

ment of offenders. In some states this work is done through the state department of health, in others through their department of agriculture.

The larger cities have their local ordinances covering somewhat the same ground. Some matters can be better handled by local officials than by those of the state or federal government. The inspection of milk to see whether it has been watered or for some other reason does not contain the legal amount of fats or solids, is usually done by local officers. They also inspect bakeries, dairies, and factories making food products to see whether they are kept clean. Dis-

honest weights, scales, measures, and the like are confiscated and the user of them fined if he has used them knowingly.

If you discovered that a milkman or grocer was selling a dirty, impure, or low-grade article, what would be the proper thing to do about it?

46. Water Supply. — For countless industrial uses, to keep clean, indeed to keep alive, man must have water. Where shall he get it? In the country or the small town

Reservoir Constituting a Part

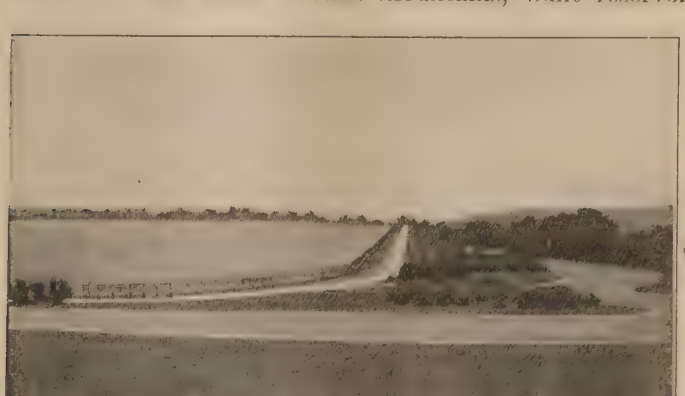
Water is pumped from a river to a filtration plant and then into this two other reservoirs of

wells and springs will probably furnish enough, but when a city contains thousands of people, no such supply is available, in most cases. Lakes and rivers have to be drawn upon, sometimes miles and miles away.

In a small city a private water company may be able to provide what the community needs, but as the city grows the undertaking becomes more and more difficult, so that the people usually prefer that their local government shall operate their water system. Besides, when this is done, the quality of service and the purity of the water can be much

more strictly guarded. Three fourths of the larger towns and cities control their water supply.

Chicago takes its water from Lake Michigan; Pittsburgh chiefly from the Allegheny River. Seattle annexed an entire fresh water lake. New York has constructed an enormous reservoir in the Catskill mountains, from which a great tunnel goes under the Hudson river and on to the city, carrying water for its people. Los Angeles has gone nearly 250 miles into the Sierra Nevada mountains, built reservoirs,



OF A GREAT CITY WATER SYSTEM.

reservoir. This holds about 125,000,000 gallons. The city also has about equal dimensions.

and taken what it needs from a pure mountain river. Part of the way to the city the water passes through an enormous iron pipe which works on the principle of a siphon, and part of the way it is an open aqueduct. Even after all these stupendous engineering feats, people are not sure that either of these last two cities has procured a supply that will be sufficient for more than half a century.

47. Purification of Water. — Although only a small part of the entire water supply is used for drinking purposes, it is necessary that the whole shall be usable in that way. Cities

cannot afford to have two systems, one for drinking water and one for industrial uses. No greater danger to public health exists than impure drinking water.

If the supply is taken from a river or lake into which all kinds of refuse may be poured or thrown, some way must be found to purify the water. Rivers will purify themselves after traveling a few miles, but when towns are built as close together as we find them in these days the river may not have time to do this between one town and the next. Some cities have constructed great filtration plants. Water

Settling Basins at a Filtration Plant.

is pumped from a river or lake and made to filter through vast beds of sand, which remove the impurities. Chlorine or some other chemical is sometimes used, too, in some part of the process of purification.

Pittsburgh has done wonders for its people through its filtration system. There was a time when one in every 71 persons in the city might, by the law of averages, expect to have typhoid fever in the course of a year. Now the chances are only one in 2300 — a record surpassed by few large cities.

From the filtration beds or from the original source, as the case may be, the water usually goes into great reser-

voirs or standpipes. Big iron pipes, called mains, carry the water underground through the principal streets. From these, smaller pipes run to side streets or to separate houses. Here another question is raised: Shall everybody be permitted to use all he wants, regardless of the amount he or some one else really needs?

Many places have found it very desirable to use meters in

WATER MAINS.

each house or factory and make the user pay for the amount he actually takes. This has the effect of making people more careful to avoid wasting the water. Sometimes there is enough of a saving made possible in a city's supply to cut down noticeably the amount which has to be pumped into the reservoirs. Since a city seldom goes into the business of supplying water in order to make money, the saving can come back to the people in the form of reduced rates. No doubt the use of meters will soon be almost universal.

Describe the water supply of your home and community.

48. Drainage and Sewerage. — The rain water and melted snow must find some way to get to running streams, else it will collect in filthy puddles or disease-breeding swamps. Communities therefore have to provide for this drainage. In towns and cities there is also a large amount of another sort of liquid waste, which we call *sewage*. This includes the waste matter from kitchen sinks, toilets, laundries, and the like, which if allowed to collect gives off a poisonous gas.

Sewer and Drainage System before the Street is Graded.

Sewer mains under construction are shown on page 75.

Some efficient means of handling both drainage and sewerage is essential for every clean and healthful community.

Is there any danger to health in such outhouses as are shown in the picture on page 89? Should an up-to-date community have cesspools?

There is so much difference in the nature of the materials to be carried away that the ideal way would be to have separate systems for the removal of the rain water and the sewage. But this method seems expensive, and most cities in this country carry off the surface water and the sewage

together. In order to accommodate sudden and heavy rains, the main sewers laid under the principal streets must be large. They are often constructed of concrete or vitrified brick instead of iron.

The water from the surface of the street pours into catch basins at the corner or in the middle of the street. The solid matter carried by the water settles at the bottom of these basins and is later cleaned out; the water runs off in the sewer, which also receives the house sewage through pipes. The easiest place for the sewers to discharge is into a river or lake.

When the sewage reaches the river or lake it is full of filth and disease germs, which may menace the health of other communities touched by the same body of water. Chicago constructed a drainage canal that flows towards the Illinois and Mississippi rivers instead of toward Lake Michigan. This suits Chicago, which gets its water supply from the lake, but the towns down the river are not so sure of the merits of the plan. Seacoast cities can use their harbors, but pipes should carry the sewage well out from the shore. London and Providence dispose of the sludge, or solid matter, by dumping it in deep water.

Some western cities, surrounded by desert land baked by a warm sun, spread their sewage refuse out on the surface, depending on the sun and the dry air to purify it. Incidentally they grow crops on this sewage-fertilized soil, and turn an honest penny which helps to pay the expense of the sewage system. Neither of these methods will suit hundreds of communities. A few undertake to treat the sewage with lime or other chemicals. But most of them simply turn it into the nearest stream, piously expecting, if they think about it at all, that a good Providence will look after the next town down the stream.

49. Disposal of Wastes. — Waste matter which is not of a liquid character can be classified under three heads — garbage, rubbish, and ashes. Garbage includes vegetables unfit for

table use, waste scraps of all kinds from the kitchen, and waste animal matter. Rubbish includes waste paper, wood, tin cans, glass, crockery, and such material. Ashes are the remains from fuel burned in a stove or furnace. Each of these is so different from the others that they should never be mixed, and should be handled separately. Ashes are comparatively unobjectionable, and as they can easily be used to fill in where " made " ground is needed they offer no special problem in regard to removal.

Weighing Garbage after Collection.

Three methods have been employed by municipalities to get rid of this waste matter. Under the *license* method the municipality grants, in return for a fee, the privilege of engaging in the business of collecting garbage and other refuse. The man who is thus licensed may go from house to house, and the occupants pay him for carrying the refuse away. Under the *contract* method, the municipality pays some contractor or firm a definite sum per ton or per year, and he then becomes responsible for the removal of the wastes. Under the *municipal* system the municipality collects and

disposes of its own garbage and rubbish just as it cleans the streets or looks after the sewers. Which plan do you like best?

There is good profit in handling the garbage and rubbish if the community is large enough to furnish a considerable amount of it. Old rags and paper can be used again in paper making. The solder and even the tin of old cans has

Too Valuable to Waste.

Paper collected by rubbish wagons is sorted and baled, ready for shipment.

a money value. The garbage can be treated in such a way that grease and fats taken from it can be used in making soap, low-grade oils, and even, they say, cheap perfume. The refuse has a commercial value in making fertilizer.

But the amount collected in a small town would not be sufficient to justify any one in trying to make money out of it. A furnace with hot flame may be necessary to get rid of the waste matter which would menace seriously the health

of any community which did not arrange for its removal and disposal. Some eastern towns run a hog farm where they use the garbage to feed the animals. This method helps to pay the cost of collecting it, but there are objections to eating the flesh of hogs fed on such a diet.

Did your community ever undertake a "clean-up week"? Does it need it? Would you recommend the establishment of a national Department of Health with extensive powers?

A Real Estate Company's Slogan.

50. Home Owning. — By the homes of a community you may judge its people. The family that has a home of its own, "be it ever so humble," has an interest in common, an inspiration for life and good citizenship, which those can not have who pay some one else to provide a roof under which they may sleep and eat, and who pack up and move to another place on the slightest pretext.

Yet the proportion of people who own their own dwellings is steadily declining. Some are too lazy to do the

work needed to care for a house, and prefer to live where a janitor is supposed to clean the snow from pavements, supply heat for rooms, clean halls, and do other such things. Some thousands in every large city feel that they must live within a reasonable distance of the work where they are employed, and so they crowd into tenements whose chief excuse for existence is that they are within walking distance or a five-cent carfare of most of the jobs in a city. Such

Apartment Houses along Riverside Drive, New York.
These are among the most expensive apartment houses in existence.

places can never give the privacy and individuality that a real home ought to have.

The conditions of modern industry frequently cause people to change from one community to another or from one part of a city to another. Some families are therefore unwilling to tie themselves down by buying a house and lot which they might not be able to dispose of easily if they want to move. Some argue that there is not much saving after all in owning a home, when you have paid taxes, water rent, repairs and improvements, and perhaps interest on a mortgage.

Yet whatever conveniences even the best apartment

house may afford, it can never possess the spirit and sentiment that are associated with the old cottage in the Green Mountain village or even the little home in West Philadelphia where every house looks like the next one. Stephen C. Foster's melodies and John Howard Payne's "Home, Sweet Home," reach every heart where the English language is known. But who could get sentimental about Apartment 10, on the sixth floor of 408 West 130th Street?

Yet 90 per cent of the people of New York City live in tenements. The average number in every building on Manhattan Island which is used for dwelling purposes is over 30. The mill cities of New England, in fact almost every large city, show with every new census a lamentable increase in the percentage of the people who are tenement dwellers. Detroit, Los Angeles, and a few other western cities are the only large communities where even 40 per cent of the people own their own homes.

How does the proportion of home owners and renters stand among your own class and acquaintances? (Facts of this kind can be handed in on slips of paper without signatures.)

51. The Slums. — The loss of the home spirit caused by herding people together in apartment houses and tenements is bad enough in itself, but that is only the beginning of the evil. Working people whose wages are small cannot afford to pay high rents. Especially if they are foreigners and anxious to save every penny they can to send back to the old country or to enable them to go back themselves, they will put up with any kind of accommodations that give them a place to sleep. Whole families will eat and sleep in one room and even take in boarders. What can we expect if some one in this herd gets tuberculosis or diphtheria?

The outward surroundings of these places are likely to be equally bad. The owner of the place wants to make all the money he can. If his tenants do not care whether they have green grass or not, he will probably not try very hard

to make it grow in their neighborhood. If he can make ten or a dozen families get their water from one cistern or spigot, it will cost him far less than to take running water to every family. If a few boards thrown together over a foul-smelling cesspool will answer the toilet needs of several families, why go to the expense of anything more? They would very likely keep their coal or potatoes in the bathtub if they had one.

Not a bit of this is exaggeration. Repeated instances of

A Scene in the Slums.

How much do you think could be done to improve this? Often the buildings are more crowded than in this picture

such conditions can be found in almost any large city. Look around in your own community, even if it is not a large place, and see if you do not find something that might at least grow into a slum district if you let it do so. Read "How the Other Half Lives" or "The Battle with the Slum," by Jacob Riis. We cast no reflection on the work of the foreign missionary when we say that a reading of such books may shock one who had never realized how much missionary work needs to be done in our own metropolis.

In such conditions good health would be almost a miracle.

Every disease germ that afflicts mankind would find friendly lodgment there. Worse than this, the health of the whole city is endangered. The disease-burdened inhabitant of the slums may pass in the crowded street or ride in the same street car with a member of the most carefully nurtured family in the city. Garments made in these slum districts may go to other cities, taking the dread germs along with them.

The moral effect of this life, too, is unspeakable. Every temptation to crime and immorality is active, and there is little to encourage a person who wishes to keep straight. Voters in these sections care nothing about clean politics or honest government. They pay no taxes, or very few. Any politician can get their votes who will give them a free picnic once a year, or appeal to race or religious prejudice. The slum is a disease that gnaws the very vitals of the city.

Is there any remedy? Yes, something is being done by settlement houses and social workers who try to interest the slum-dwellers, particularly the young people, in the higher things of life. The schools do a wonderful work in teaching the children how to live, how to keep clean, what things make for good citizenship. In such measures is perhaps our best hope, for we cannot change the older people greatly.

But we can attack the property owner who knowingly permits disgusting conditions to exist. In New York and elsewhere scores of tenements have been completely torn down, to make way either for better buildings or to allow a little park, a breathing spot for the people, to come into being. Sometimes the city itself puts up model tenements or provides small one-family houses which are fit for decent people to live in. Fire escapes, windows, air space and ventilation are now required by law, and sometimes the owner of a lot is forbidden to cover more than a certain per cent of the lot with buildings, so as to secure the needed light and air for the neighborhood. At least we have begun to

realize the evils of the slum and to show a purpose to get rid of them.

52. The City's Food Supply. — The big city of to-day is absolutely dependent upon the railroads to keep its citizens alive. There is never in any community at one time more than enough flour, sugar, butter, eggs, and such staple foods to last more than a few weeks at most, for the amount of any of those articles produced within a city is so small that it may be almost neglected. Its milk is not brought from so far away, but even one day's interruption of the milk trains or trouble with the farmers or drivers of milk wagons makes some of its residents suffer.

PRODUCTS OF THE SOUTH.

Even the supply of vegetables and small fruits is furnished only in part by the farmers and market gardeners in the vicinity of the city. The Carolinas, Georgia, Virginia, and other southern states supply the rest. The meats, whether fresh or canned, are likely to come from the great meat-packing centers of Chicago, Kansas City, St. Joseph, and Omaha. The flour, quite possibly brought from the mills of Minneapolis, may have been made from wheat grown in North Dakota. Cantaloupes may have come from the Imperial Valley and oranges from Redlands or Riverside in California. The sugar was probably grown in Cuba or Hawaii, and the coffee in Brazil. It is a wonderful business — this feeding a great city.

Can you estimate how many people had a part in furnishing your breakfast?

Show on a map of the United States the principal sources of our leading food products.

A North Dakota Wheat Field.

It is very evident that the farmer who grows the wheat and the stockman who tends the cattle cannot sell directly to the person who wants bread or beefsteak. Several people deal with the commodity between the producer and the

A California Fruit Ranch.
At Redlands, California.

consumer, each one incidentally taking his little profit and adding to the final price. The farmer in central New York who raises apples may sell them to a commission merchant

in the city. The merchant may dispose of them to a wholesale fruit dealer, and the dealer in turn to a huckster or retail dealer or grocer.

Charges are often made that the commission merchants combine and make agreements to keep the price of goods unreasonably high, even going so far as to let goods rot in the produce yards rather than be put on the market and prob-

GRAIN ELEVATORS, MONTREAL.

ably lower the price. Speculation in cold storage products such as eggs, by buying them when prices are low and keeping them for a time of high prices, is also attempted.

It is difficult to prove in court that such conspiracies are formed, and the government has trouble in trying to punish the men who do these things. It may not be possible to get rid of all the " middlemen " who are connected with the sale of food products, but if some way could be found to accomplish this, even in part, it would help to reduce the cost of the people's food.

Trace a barrel of apples or a crate of oranges from the grower to you. Could your community support itself if necessary?

53. Markets. — In order to make it possible for farmers to deal directly with food buyers in town, some municipalities have built market houses where people can come and buy fruits, garden vegetables, poultry, eggs, meat, and the like. Farmers who wish to take advantage of this chance to sell may rent a booth or stall in the market which they

Old Market House.

will regularly occupy. City officers are supposed to keep the market clean and see that honest weights and measures are used. In some places the market is well patronized. People feel that they are getting fresher goods than they could buy elsewhere and probably making a slight saving in cost. The city makes some profit from the rentals and everybody is satisfied.

Not all cities have been equally successful with a public market. It is about the only way available for getting rid of the middleman, but the farmers in the markets will naturally keep their prices up close to those charged else-

where, so that the saving in money to the public is not great. A heartfelt vote of thanks is waiting for the man who will work out a scheme by which the people can get fresh, clean food products from convenient places without paying tribute to four or five men or firms who have dealt with the goods somewhere on the road.

What classes of people in a community would probably be opposed to public markets? What new expedients to provide people with food or to keep food prices down were undertaken as a result of the Great War? What mistakes in the kind or amount of food used are made by families of your acquaintance?

QUESTIONS

Compare the ideas of former times and to-day with reference to disease. What is the record of the United States now in death rates? Where are the best and poorest figures within the country and why?

In whose hands rests most of the authority for the control of disease? Explain quarantine rules for dealing with individual cases of contagious disease or with epidemics. Is a person a good citizen who tries to evade a quarantine?

Mention the principal means of a public nature which aim to prevent disease. Specify such measures as apply to individual citizens. As far as you have observed, are these laws enforced? Can you do anything about it yourself?

What does the national government undertake to do in order to prevent the sale of unfit food products? Mention certain activities of state governments in the same direction. What items of food regulation are usually left to local governments? Mention any instances that you know about.

Explain the necessity for public water supply in large communities. From what sources do some of the large cities get their supply?

Why must many communities purify their water? What is a filtration plant and of what use is it? Is there any danger in using water from wells?

Explain the distribution of water to the people. Should all houses be metered? What kinds of waste matter have to be drained away and why is this necessary? Explain in general the operation of a sewage system. What is done with the matter collected in the great drains or sewers?

Describe the three kinds of solid waste matter. What methods

have been employed to remove these? Which of them is used in your community? What is done with the material collected?

Of what benefit to a family is it to own their home? Why do some people prefer to rent? Which would you do, own or rent, if you were free to choose?

Why do slums come into existence? Do you think the fault is chiefly the owner's or the tenant's that these conditions prevail? In what way do the slums affect their inhabitants and the community at large? How can they be abolished or prevented? Could anything be done with the scene shown in the picture?

Show the dependence of the city upon others for its food. Where do the principal articles in our bills of fare come from? What is the purpose of the public market? Do you think it helps to lower the price of food? Can you make any other suggestions to that end?

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Most Common Diseases of To-day.
The Public Health Service of Our State and Community.
What Sanitation Did for the Canal Zone.
The Fight against Yellow Fever.
The White Plague and How to Combat It.
The Hospitals of Our Community.
My Experience in a Hospital.
The Safety First Movement.
The Water Supply of Our Community.
Housing Conditions in Our Town.
Our Grocery Stores and Meat Markets.
The National Bureau of Chemistry.
Herbert C. Hoover and the National Food Administration.

CHAPTER VI

THE HIGHER LIFE OF THE COMMUNITY

Yet I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns.
— *Tennyson.*

54. Public Provision for Recreation and Culture. — "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy," says the proverb. Play, if it means rest, recreation, and enjoyment that make

Carnegie Museum, Music Hall, and Library, Pittsburgh.

it easier for one to work hard afterward, is coming to be regarded more and more as desirable for both young and old.

But where are people going to play? A private house and yard, even the mansion and wide surroundings of a millionaire, cannot accommodate all the people of a large community. The community must do it, if it is to be done.

The city which tries to give these extra pleasures and benefits to its people is the one where the citizens are most likely to be happy, healthy, and orderly. And so, besides the parks, playgrounds, and libraries, many cities maintain museums and art galleries, furnish free band concerts and even open public dance halls, properly chaperoned, for people to broaden their minds or have "a good time."

OPEN AIR ORGAN, SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA.
This was constructed in time for the San Diego Exposition of 1915–16, but has been permanently given to the city.

Sometimes a wealthy man will by some munificent gift play Santa Claus for the town where he was born or where he made his money. John D. Spreckels did this for San Diego, in presenting the city with a wonderful organ for use in giving open air concerts. Andrew Carnegie put millions of dollars into a marvelous museum, music hall, and library for Pittsburgh.

Some critic will say that he had better have paid the workmen in his mills higher wages. But since he did not, why should not the community where most of his money was made accept gladly the part of it which he is willing to restore to her? Many a well-to-do man never thinks of sharing his wealth with the city which helped him make it. Is not a community both unwise and ungracious which rejects the wealth which it can use to the good of its people?

What does "recreation" really mean? What advantages does your community offer for recreation for men, for women, and for children? Are country or city people better off in this respect?

55. Parks. — Parks are the most common form of provision which communities make for public recreation. Here one may get into the open air and rest, and get as near to nature as is possible in a large city. Flower-beds, bushes, and trees help to make the place inviting in appearance and spread a quiet, uplifting influence toward beauty and the

Scene in Garfield Park, Chicago.

higher things. The greenhouses and conservatories which many parks possess are educational as well as interesting, and the "zoo" is an endless source of enjoyment and instruction to old folks as well as young.

Boston Common and the Public Garden form perhaps the oldest public park in the country. Central Park in New York, Fairmount Park in Philadelphia, Lincoln Park in Chicago with its wonderful collection of animals, Golden Gate Park in San Francisco, are known all over the nation. Many other cities have beautiful parks which are no doubt equally deserving of mention.

The question is sometimes raised: Should a city have one or two large parks or several small ones? By all odds the small ones, if it cannot have both. For the poor man with a good-sized family cannot afford to take them all on the street cars Sunday afternoon or any other time to get to a park, and he is the one who most needs it. But if the city can afford at least one fine large park, besides the smaller ones, it will be still better, for it cannot be expected to fur-

View in the Public Garden, Boston.

nish every little breathing space with all the beautiful and attractive equipment which can be readily supplied in the large park.

Should the main idea in a park be use or beauty? Should everybody be obliged to "keep off the grass"?

56. Playgrounds. — Probably nothing has done more to improve the life of the poorer districts of a community than the opening of public playgrounds. Here are swings, sand-piles, and other things which delight the children, and instructors who watch over their play and show them new

games. If the playground is at all large, it will have one or more baseball diamonds for the boys and men, and basket ball courts and tennis courts which the girls and women also may use.

There should be a field house with baths, lockers, a gymnasium floor, and opportunity for indoor athletics of all kinds. In some cities there are swimming pools, indoor or outdoor or both, or if the city is at the seaside or lakeside it may maintain public bathing beaches in connection with a playground. Sometimes classes are held which give instruc-

A Playground is Needed in this Neighborhood.

tion in subjects of special interest to women or children, such as sewing, basketwork, and the like.

It is very evident that to secure the best results from the playgrounds they must be closely and carefully supervised. If all the loafers and rowdies of a neighborhood collect around the playground and make it unpleasant for quiet and orderly people to go there, one may question whether the community is much better off for having the grounds, even though the children are safe from the wagons and cars of the streets.

But with proper supervision the playgrounds will minister

wonderfully to the health, happiness, and decent living of children and older people alike. If they are so situated as to be within easy reach of those who most need them, and especially if they are operated, as in many places they now are, in connection with the public schools, they can help to develop in a very high degree the physical, intellectual, and moral interests of the community.

57. Libraries. — Very few families can afford all the books, magazines, or newspapers which at some time or

LIBRARY, MIDDLEBURY, VERMONT.

A type of library building that is becoming common in moderate-sized communities of the better class.

other they want to use. Now that our schools have done so much toward arousing in our people an interest and pleasure in reading, it is clear that the community must choose between providing the means of meeting this desire of the people or letting it go almost wholly ungratified. Every progressive community of as many as a few thousand people now has a public library, from which any citizen may draw books for home use and where he may go to study, amuse himself, or merely pass away the time. The great majority of these libraries are maintained by public taxa-

tion, and in many cases building and all are paid for by the community.

Wealthy citizens have often adopted the idea of giving a town a library building when they wished to do something for it. Town after town in the United States owes to Andrew Carnegie the existence of its public library to-day. It has been his rule to insist that a town which received a library building from him must agree to contribute each year a cer-

Pageant Scene, Medford, Massachusetts.

It is becoming common to celebrate anniversary dates in local history by pageants that symbolize or illustrate notable movements and characters.

tain sum to keep it in good running order. No doubt this requirement has made many a community help to educate itself when it otherwise would have neglected this duty on the plea of expense.

In a number of states the state government has undertaken the support of a library system, particularly for the benefit of the rural districts. Traveling libraries, as they are called, are sent from place to place, remaining in one community a while and then being exchanged for another

set of books which a different community has been using. There is no question of the great service rendered to the people in this way.

In both city and country libraries have discovered that one of the most effective fields which they can cultivate is the public school. The library may send out assortments of books which the school will keep for some time, and use in connection with its class work. It encourages children to come to the library to read and to use its reference books. For the younger ones it may hold a story hour, when some one gifted in talking to children will tell them the great fables of literature, stories about famous men and women of history, or other things which they like to hear which are at the same time helpful in some way. Get a child started on the right path in his reading, and you have done much toward making him a thoughtful and valuable citizen.

Is there any difference between the object of the library and of the school? If so, what is it? How many books are in your local library? Of what kinds are they?

Are you familiar with the exhibits in your museums, art galleries, and the like? What have they to offer that will benefit you in school work or general culture?

58. Religion. — It is one of the most cherished principles of American government that the State should in no way whatever force a man to accept any particular creed or support any particular church or interfere in any way with his religious beliefs. This doctrine was almost revolutionary when Roger Williams first proclaimed it in the old Massachusetts Bay Colony. They exiled him for it, and thus gave Rhode Island the opportunity and glory of establishing that principle in the world. But now our National Constitution declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or the free exercise thereof," and every state adheres to the same doctrine and practice.

In what countries does the government still help to support any church? Is free worship permitted to other churches?

On this account it is difficult for a community to do anything directly to assist religious institutions. Nevertheless we must recognize the great importance of churches, Sunday schools, Y. M. C. A.'s, and the like in the higher life of any community. Entirely apart from their distinctly "spiritual" or theological teaching, they contribute wonderfully toward

Mormon Temple and Tabernacle, Salt Lake City, Utah.

making any community clean, wholesome, orderly, and happy. Most states recognize the value of religious institutions by exempting from taxation any property owned by them. There are people who say that this custom violates the principle of complete separation of Church and State, but if all churches are treated alike it is hard to see where any harm is done.

The number of different denominations is large. The Roman Catholics, with about 15,000,000 adherents, are more numerous than any one Protestant body, but the total mem-

bership of Protestant churches in this country is about 30,000,000. Methodists are the most numerous and Baptists second. In New England the Congregationalists rank first, in New Jersey and Pennsylvania the Presbyterians. Episcopalians, Disciples of Christ, and Lutherans have also a numerous membership, but they are not centered in any particular section.

The public school is not the place for arguments over the relative merits of different denominations. It is sufficient

Church, Concord, Massachusetts.

for us to say that much unnecessary ill-feeling has resulted because some have not realized that others could hold different views and still be as sincere and well-meaning as themselves. It is usually the case, too, that when denominational differences are introduced into political campaigns, the results are very unpleasant. In time of war men of all faiths have stood loyally by the cause of our country. It will be well if we can have the same cooperation and mutual respect in time of peace.

A number of questions that relate to religion are the cause of honest disagreement. The observance of Sunday is one

of these. In the West most places of amusement are "wide open" on Sunday, but in the East, while most people are far less narrow in their views than formerly, there is still a strong feeling that Sunday should be observed more quietly than other days, that enterprises carried on solely for amusement and profit should not be open, and that the attitude of the government should encourage the use of the day for worship and rest rather than for other purposes.

Cathedral.

Many states have strict laws relating to the matter, which were passed years ago, but few of them are enforced literally. Public sentiment seems to be willing to leave much discretion in the matter to the officials, and whether the Sunday laws are enforced at all or not depends on the controlling sentiment of each community.

59. Religious Instruction. — Another topic for disagreement is the teaching of religion or morals in the schools. Many people think that these must be taught in the schools if they are taught anywhere. A great many children do not go to any Sunday school, and many families pay little attention at home to these matters.

It is hard, however, to work out any code of instruction which will suit everybody. Christians and Jews, Catholics and Protestants, interpret certain portions of the Bible

differently, and one group is inclined to think that some particular teaching is fundamentally important which the other does not consider in the same light.

The schools of Gary, Indiana, and a few elsewhere, allow a part of the regular school hours to be used by priests or ministers to give religious instruction to children connected with their own denominations. This plan, however, has not been received with sufficient favor to cause its general introduction. In some states credit is given for properly attested Bible study done outside the school. Several states have laws requiring the reading of a certain number of verses of the Bible each day in school, but the courts in a few states have ruled that the Bible is a sectarian book and must therefore not be taught or read publicly in the schools.

On one point almost every one will agree — that the nation with low religious and moral ideals is doomed to downfall. The need of sound and strong moral instruction is clear. But whether the public schools can safely do anything more than this, or whether we must leave strictly religious teaching to the church and the home, is a question which should not be answered on the basis of religious partisanship. Our sole purpose should be to do that which will establish the highest ideals of life and conduct without denying to any citizen absolute freedom of religious belief.

QUESTIONS

Why should a community pay taxes to enable people to play or rest? What do you think of the wisdom of a community's accepting gifts from private citizens?

For what purpose do we have parks? Mention some notable parks. Should they be large or small, and where should they be located?

Describe a well-conducted playground. Of what service may it be?

What does the public library do for the community? What are "Carnegie" libraries? traveling libraries?

What effect do religious organizations have upon a community?

What is the policy of our governments toward individual religious beliefs and toward religious organizations? Is ill feeling among religious denominations necessary?

What are the main facts in regard to the observance of Sunday? Should religion and morals be taught in the public schools? State the main arguments for and against the proposition. What are the laws or customs in your state or community in regard to Bible reading in the schools?

SPECIAL TOPICS

A Visit to —— Park.

Andrew Carnegie and His Benefactions.

The Rockefeller Foundation and Its Work.

What Our Community is Doing for the Physical, Mental, and Moral Uplift of Its People.

The Churches of ——.

What My Church Believes In. (It would be enlightening to have each member of the class write on this subject and to have the best statement for each denomination read by the teacher without giving the name of the author. This topic should be omitted, however, if the teacher thinks it would lead to unpleasant argument, or if state laws forbid the discussion of religious doctrine.)

CHAPTER VII

THE PROTECTION OF THE COMMUNITY

The greatest good can be done by preventing the commission of unlawful acts. — Fred L. Kohler.

60. Fire Losses. — No other civilized country burns up so much valuable property as the United States does. Somebody has figured out that if all the buildings burned in a year in this country were lined up side by side, they would fill both sides of a street 1000 miles long, or as far as from New York to Chicago. The property destroyed in a year in this country is worth more than $225,000,000. Add to that nearly 2000 lives lost, many thousands of people thrown out of work, and the indirect losses and expenses caused by ruining homes or interrupting industries, and we get a total impression which is, to say the least, frightful.

The worst part of it is that most of this loss and suffering is pathetically unnecessary. Europe does not suffer such losses. The per capita loss in her large cities is anywhere from one half down to one fifth of ours, although we have probably the most efficient fire departments that the world has ever known.

What is the cause of all these fires? Carelessness, criminal carelessness, in more than three quarters of the cases. John Smith scratched a match and failed to be sure that it had gone out when he threw it down. Alec Smart threw away a cigarette butt without looking to see whether it was still burning or where he threw it. Bridget lighted the kitchen

fire with kerosene. Mary washed her gloves in gasoline in the neighborhood of an open fire. Little Johnny and Sarah were playing with matches. Uncle John had a bonfire in the garden and did not bother to make sure that it was out when he left it. So we might go on for another page. Some fires are deliberately set. Such an act is almost inhuman, but fires started by carelessness do just as much damage. Fires that are unavoidable, such as those caused by lightning, do not cause more than one dollar's damage in every seventy dollars lost.

Find out about some of the great fires of history — particularly how they started.

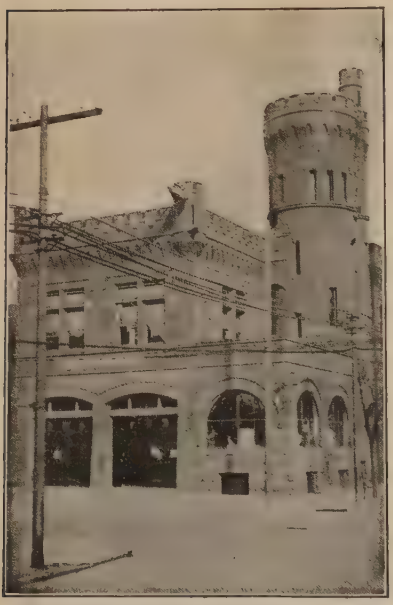
61. Fire Fighting. — There is good reason, then, why the fire departments of the United States are the best in the world. They have to be! One who is heartless enough to forget the loss and suffering caused by a fire will be tempted to laugh when he reads of the frantic but almost hopeless efforts to put out fires before the modern fire engine came into use.

Fire Engine.

The "bucket brigade," which passed pails and tubs from hand to hand from a river or well to the fire, represented a community's sympathy and struggle against misfortune, but often not much more. The pump on wheels which was dragged to the scene of the fire one hundred and twenty-five years ago could get a little more force applied to the water, but if no well was handy, it was useless. The volunteer fire company, who assembled as soon as they could after an alarm was given, and drew the engine to the fire by hand with the help of long ropes, was a decided improve-

ment; but no large city to-day would care to trust itself to them.

We must have regular companies always on duty, officered and organized to work with military efficiency. We have our engines, our hook and ladder trucks, our chemical apparatus which, if the fire has not too much of a start, can put it out without causing the damage that comes from hurling thousands of gallons of water. The largest cities also have their water-towers and fire-boats to use in getting at a fire which has got started in an awkward place to reach. Electric or gasoline power is generally displacing the horses.



Engine House.

The number of engine-houses and firemen needed by a city depends somewhat on the ground which they have to cover. A hilly city, like Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, or San Francisco, needs more than a level city. When we see the firemen sitting around in the engine-house playing cards or looking at the scenery, we may wonder why we pay taxes to get men to do that. But when we realize that within ten minutes these same men may be risking their lives to save others and that their skill and courage may keep a whole city from destruction, we are willing to admit that perhaps we should want more pay than they get if we had to take their places.

Many cities have a pension system which enables a fireman to retire from active service on reduced pay after a certain number of years. Special training-schools for firemen are frequently provided, so that they may be fully instructed in everything that relates to their work.

62. Fire Prevention. — Big fires still occur, for sometimes a blaze has gone so far before it is discovered that the best

A Dangerous Fire Hazard.

At Revere Beach, Massachusetts. A fire started anywhere in this row would probably sweep away the whole of it.

that can be done is to limit it to the building where it broke out. The proper way, after all, to fight fires is to see that they do not get started. This may be done in two ways: by constructing buildings so as to make them less risky, and by urging people to be careful and showing them how their carelessness may cause a fire.

Most of the large cities now establish "fire limits," within which they do not allow any large wooden buildings to be erected. Theaters must have asbestos curtains, to shut off

the auditorium from the stage and the rest of the building. Automatic sprinklers are installed in many business places. Stairways and air shafts must be of fireproof material, as far as possible.

To protect the lives of people in public buildings, the aisles must always be kept open, doors must open outward, and there must be plenty of fire escapes, all plainly marked. Many of these requirements must be observed in the construction of tenements. Schools must have fire drills, so that every one in the building may get out in the quickest and most orderly fashion possible.

FIRE-ALARM BOX.

"Break the glass, open the door, and pull down the hook." The other side of this post holds a police telegraph box. Just behind these is seen a mail box.

Fires in homes can almost entirely be prevented by the most ordinary kind of care. The lists of "Don'ts" which are issued by fire officials from time to time are so simple that they seem almost silly, but most house fires are caused by disregard of these simple rules. Fireplaces or gas stoves unprotected by some kind of screen are responsible for many fires and deaths, especially of children. The handling of explosives or matches is to blame for many more. Electric wiring if done by some one who does not know his business is dangerous. Putting hot ashes in wooden boxes or piling up wood or paper near a stove or furnace is a frequent cause of fire. Common sense would tell us not to do these and many other reckless things, but many of us do not use it as often as we ought.

One reason why fires are not so common in European cities is that the governments pay more attention to the inspection of private houses and business places than we do, and that they enforce strictly the rules which they lay down. Here we have almost no inspection of private houses, for

Americans think that this is inquisitive meddling into private affairs and they resent it. A little unprejudiced thinking will show that this is wrong, and that we need more "meddling" rather than less.

Some cities do have bureaus of building inspection which make factory owners and proprietors of tenement houses comply with the laws. Three fourths of the states also have fire marshals, who may make regulations for fire prevention and go into any building to inspect it and see that the regulations are obeyed. They also investigate the causes of fires that have occurred.

What would you do if a fire started where you were?

63. Fire Insurance. — From two thirds to three fourths of the fire loss in the United States is covered by insurance. Considerably over $50,000,000,000 of fire insurance is in force in this country. It comes in very handily if one suffers from a fire, but after all it is a kind of waste, even though necessary. It is simply a means of distributing one man's loss among many, so that no one will feel it very heavily. If there were no fires, all the money paid for premiums on insurance could be saved, and these amount to about double the payments for fire losses.

64. The Work of the Police. — Probably the first thought that enters our heads if we are asked the duties of the policeman is that he arrests lawbreakers. True, that is one of his valuable services. He may arrest a person whom he sees committing a crime, or whom he finds acting in a suspicious manner, or for whose arrest a warrant has been issued.

But another important reason for having policemen is to prevent crime. The very fact that there are policemen causes people who are tempted to break the law to refrain from doing so. Sometimes a word or act from a policeman may keep a person out of mischief, may quiet an unruly mob, or may induce a man to do right instead of wrong.

Still another large function of the policeman is to give

advice and assistance to people. The " traffic cop " stands where two or more busy streets intersect, helps ladies get across in safety, and directs the movement of automobiles and street cars so as to keep them from hopeless confusion. The little girl who has strayed away from her mother and does not know the way home can go confidently and ask the policeman to direct her. Strangers who want to know how to get to the Palace Hotel or any other place expect the

Cornerman on Duty.

A much busier traffic man is seen on page 59.

policeman to be able to tell them — in fact he is the one person in a strange city in whom a visitor has a right to put absolute confidence. Keeping the streets clear so that parades may pass, preventing disorder at public meetings, warning people who do not clean the snow from their sidewalks — these are a few of the thousand and three things which a policeman has to do.

In European cities, notably in Germany, they keep watch of a person's movements with a strictness that seems to most

Americans unendurable. But at least it must be said that it is not easy for a criminal to get away from the German or French police authorities. If they could only get the same results without treating an honest man like a possible criminal too, it would be fine. Maybe the ideal is a compromise between European strictness and American laxity.

Do police officials in your neighborhood enjoy the respect of the citizens?

65. European Systems of Management. — Two features in particular distinguish European police management from American. (1) The control of the police is in the hands of the central government. Sometimes a Minister of Police is in the national cabinet. This arrangement makes it possible to police an entire nation with a thoroughness which is out of the question in this country. (2) The military element in their work is very noticeable. The high authorities are likely to be army officers, and every policeman on the continent has spent not less than two or three years in compulsory military service. They have been taught that orders are given to be obeyed and that laws which are made are to be enforced. The result of all this is a strictness of law enforcement, an unyielding discipline, and a fear of authority which are wholly lacking among us.

66. Management in the United States. — In this country we usually allow each community to organize and manage its police force. We expect each local government to pay the cost of its own police protection. There is almost no uniformity between one city and another. Generally some one called the chief of police or superintendent of police is at their head, and below him are captains, lieutenants, sergeants, and the like. The patrolmen constitute the great body of the force. They have a specially assigned "beat" to go over within a certain time, except when they have to go out of their regular way to arrest a person or attend to some other unusual work.

A first-class policeman needs to possess firmness, good judgment, and ability to move quickly when occasion requires. In large cities a system of civil service examinations requiring both mental and physical tests is required for both policemen and firemen. Where these tests are really applied, the policemen are a vigorous, athletic, intelligent group of men, not at all like the incompetent fellows who get on the force in cities where bad politics or other evil influence holds sway. Many cities have a pension system for policemen as well as for firemen.

The detective force or "plain clothes men" have the special duty of getting evidence in cases where it is not wise to deal too openly, and keeping particular guard to protect the public from pickpockets, forgers, and other criminals who are uncommonly tricky or skillful. Some of these men the detectives know by sight and if one is found in a city he may be warned to get out before he has any chance to rob or cheat anybody. Some cities have recently appointed policewomen to positions on the force.

In a few states, the state government exercises a direct oversight over the police of its largest cities. This is done on the theory that what happens in the big city concerns the rest of the state so much that it should not be free to do wholly as it pleases, particularly in enforcing some laws. If the big city is controlled by a different political party from the rest of the state, another less creditable reason for state control appears.

Do you think you could be a good policeman?

67. Police Corruption. — We have to admit that there are times when the police, instead of impartially suppressing all crime which they know of, wilfully ignore or even encourage it. The saloon-keeper who wants to sell on Sunday, the grocer who likes to cover half the sidewalk with a display of his goods, the man who owns a house where gambling and other vile practices are carried on, are very willing to

pay the policeman good money not to see the forbidden things which they want to do. If these lawbreakers are connected with a dishonest political ring, they have an influence which a policeman would probably not dare to defy.

One of the distressing things about the whole business is that sometimes when a policeman is personally honest and wants to do his duty, he finds that it is of no use to arrest

SIDEWALK MARKETING.

Scenes like this can be observed in almost any large city. Goods are exposed to handling and to all kinds of dirt. Traffic is impeded on the sidewalk and in the street.

certain people. If they are taken to court they are never punished, because some one "higher up" in the police department or in politics may himself be getting a secret, dishonorable profit out of this very lawbreaking. So many secret trails and by-paths can be followed by the forces of evil in a large city that the mass of the people never know how or why things are done.

The only remedy for this bad situation is to see to it that we have men in the highest city offices who are strong and wise. The great majority of the men in the ranks are honest or will be honest if they have the proper encouragement from their superiors. After all, conditions are almost everywhere better than they once were.

68. Emergency Measures. — There are times when the local police force cannot handle a riot, a great strike with its disorder and destruction of property, or a situation growing out of a great fire or flood. In such a case the governor of the state may be asked to send the state militia or national guard, or a part of it, to the scene of difficulty. Such occasions are rare, yet there are times when a body of men from out of town will be more respected and will feel more like maintaining order than the local officers.

A few states, such as Pennsylvania, have a special state police force, called the "state constabulary," who are directly under the authority of the state, and may be sent anywhere within its borders. Would you advocate this plan for your state?

Even the President may be asked by the state legislature, if it is in session, or by the governor, to take a hand by sending federal troops, or may do so on his own responsibility if he believes the authority of the United States is being disregarded, as President Cleveland did in the Pullman strike of 1894. It is seldom necessary to keep the state troops or federal troops on duty more than a week or two. If they are needed beyond that period, it is evident that some condition is utterly wrong in the life of the neighborhood and that a reform of some kind is needed rather than the endless show of force.

QUESTIONS

Compare American fire losses with those of other countries. Why do we have so many fires? Compare old and new methods of fighting fires. Give an account of the firemen and their work to-day.

State the principal regulations that aim to prevent the loss of property and life if a fire gets started. Make out a list of "Don'ts" that may help to prevent fires. Discuss government inspection as a means of preventing fires.

Do you believe in fire insurance? How much is carried in this country to-day?

Make a list of the things which a policeman on an ordinary beat may have to do. What other special services are required of the police?

Compare European police management with that of the United States. What titles are given to officers in our police forces? What qualifications are needed in order to serve successfully on the force? Should the state government have anything to say about the local police? Under what circumstances might the state government take charge of affairs in a community to keep order? Could the national government ever do anything of the kind?

What is meant by "police corruption"? Do you think it is common? Who is to blame?

SPECIAL TOPICS

Our Local Fire Department.

The Great Fire of Chicago or San Francisco or —— (your own or a neighboring town, if it has had one).

What to Do and What Not to Do when a Fire Breaks Out.

Our Local Police.

CHAPTER VIII

TRAINING THE YOUNG CITIZEN

It was in making education not only common to all but in some sense compulsory on all, that the destiny of the free republics of America was practically settled. — Lowell.

69. Reasons for Public Schools. — There is no sense in giving a man or woman the ballot who does not know enough to have an intelligent opinion about the questions with which the government has to deal. A nation which believes in democracy as much as we do ought to have every citizen as thoroughly educated as his own abilities will permit. Since some parents do not take enough interest in their children's progress to make them go to school, the state has to compel them to do so.

It would not be possible, either, for the state to leave education entirely to the churches. Some denominations think that schools ought to be part of the work of the church, but in most communities those of particular beliefs are not numerous or wealthy enough to conduct their own schools. On the whole, then, it seems best to leave to the state the important matter of training its citizens.

Many families, too, can not afford to pay to send their children to any kind of private schools, and so the state must train them if they are to receive any education at all. For the fitting of the children themselves to take up their work in life honestly and intelligently, and for its own protection from ignorance and lawlessness and incompetency, the state must educate its children.

Some one may ask: Why should those who have no children in the schools pay toward the cost of running them? The answer is: Everybody benefits directly or indirectly by it. The great majority of all our people do attend the public schools. Over 23,000,000 of them attended in 1916 alone. The life, property, and general welfare of every citizen are safer if all the people are educated, and every one is indirectly benefited thereby. And certainly there is just as much reason for a man to refuse to pay taxes to be spent for keeping up any street except those which he uses, as to be unwilling to support the schools to which all the children of all the people may go.

Does the furnishing of free public education by the state create any obligation on the part of public school pupils?

70. Education in Other Countries. — Other great nations follow different lines in managing their schools from those which we pursue. In many of them, even England, the established church either controls the schools or is helped to maintain its own schools out of the national treasury. England is like the United States in not having a thoroughly organized national school system. The great boys' schools and the colleges are not connected in any direct way with the "board" schools, or what we should call the public schools.[1]

France and Prussia are the great models for centrally controlled and definitely arranged national organization of the schools. In France a minister of public instruction is a member of the national cabinet. The system there in vogue provides distinctly laid-out courses of instruction all the way from the kindergarten to the universities. Only about seven years are compulsory, however.

Probably the German schools have been more widely advertised than any others because of the thoroughness with

[1] In England the name "public school" is applied only to expensive, endowed schools like Rugby, Eton, Harrow, Winchester, and a few others.

which everything German was supposed to be done. Their system had some features which we should not want to adopt in this country. Right at the very start, almost, a distinction was made between the schools which lead to the universities and those intended for the working people, so that a class distinction was marked most of the way. The schools were not free as they are here, and the training offered for girls has been much less complete than that for boys.

A New England Academy.

This institution, as well as numerous others, has been forced to close its doors as a result of high school competition.

71. Difference and Likeness in the States' School Systems. — Our American schools grew instead of being planned. Each state has worked out its own system of management and organization, and no two are alike. At first the public schools, for example, did not go beyond what we often call "the grades." Academies were left for churches or private enterprise and generosity to establish, and colleges were wholly outside the thought of the public schools.

It was not until after the middle of the nineteenth century that there were many high schools supported by public money. But the twentieth century has witnessed a most wonderful expansion of high school work. The West has

followed rather consistently a system of free instruction all the way from the primary school to the state university.

In every state there is a Superintendent of Public Instruction, though not always called by just that title, and usually a State Board of Education, composed of a small number of men interested in the public schools. In about two thirds of the states the Superintendent is elected by popular vote. In the others he is appointed by the governor or State Board.

High School and Stadium, Tacoma, Washington.

The powers of the State Superintendent and Board vary greatly. In some states they do not do much except receive reports and make recommendations. In others they exercise a very close supervision over the schools of the whole state. In New York the Board of Regents arranges for uniform examinations to be given throughout the entire state.

In some states the same textbook is adopted for use in every school, but in others each school district or township is allowed to select its own. Some states do not furnish free textbooks, except to poor children.

Should free textbooks be furnished in all public schools? Is it best for all schools in a state to use the same books?

For the management of the schools the common plan formerly was to let each little community form a school district and handle its own affairs. This system began in New England with the very start of the common schools, back in the old days when there were no public schools anywhere else. The districts naturally had very different kinds of schools. One might be rich and be willing to pay for good teachers and pleasant buildings, while the next one might choose its teachers because they were related to the school board, and might have very little money to spend.

A Country Schoolhouse.

But in most of New England and in many other states, the township or city now forms a school district. All the schoolhouses in the district are under the same management. Often central schools are maintained to which the pupils are brought from all parts of the township. Better teachers and finer equipments can be supplied to all in this way.

In many southern states the schools, like everything else, are administered by counties. Either the county as a whole is considered a school district or else it is subdivided into districts.

Try to find figures about the attendance in public schools as compared with private schools. How many colleges are there in the country? Name ten of special note. To what extent do women go to college in comparison with men? Do you advise every one to go?

72. School Administration. — In each school district there is a board of directors or trustees, who are responsible

before the law for the conduct of school affairs in their district. If the district is large or moderately large, they are likely to elect a superintendent and intrust the active management of the schools to him. In each county there is a county superintendent, who in many states is elected by popular vote.

The most important part of the whole school system is the teacher. With a good teacher a good school can be

Courtesy of National Child Labor Committee

UNION SCHOOL IN RURAL KENTUCKY.

This building represents the much needed work now going on for the improvement of conditions in southern country life.

held in a barn, but the most expensive building will be the same as money thrown away if its rooms are not in charge of teachers who know what they are supposed to teach, know how to teach it, and take a real interest in the progress of the boys and girls who come under their care.

Most states now have normal schools for the training of teachers and require most of their high school teachers to be college graduates. Every teacher must have a certificate, which will be graded in accordance with the teacher's education and experience. Politics and family connections

should not have anything to do with the choice of a teacher, and a teacher who does good work ought to feel sure of holding his position indefinitely.

Work out a diagram showing the plan of management of your own school system.

73. School Attendance. — Most of the states require that schools shall be open from seven to nine months in the

Southwestern State Normal School, California, Pennsylvania.

year. Some of the best schools have a ten months' term. In the South the school term has been shorter than in other sections of the country, but great improvement is appearing there as well as everywhere else.

Are our school days and school terms long enough?

Almost every state requires children to attend for six or eight years — from 7 to 15 or 8 to 16 years of age, for example. Laws against employment of children in mills and factories before they are 14 years old have been passed by several states, and in some, if a child leaves school before

he is 16, he must attend a "continuation school" until he reaches that age.

One of the problems of the school has been to keep the children there long enough for them to get an education that would amount to something. Always there are pupils who want to get to work at the earliest possible minute. Many times the parents are as much to blame as the children, for the family income may be small or the parents too lazy to do all they can to give their children a good start in life.

With the improvements that have been made lately in

A California Grammar School, Calexico, California.

school buildings and in the courses of study, the school offers something for everybody. No one ought to feel that he has all the school can give him until he has at least had the benefit of a full high school course.

Can you find how large a percentage of all pupils get into the high school and how many graduate from it? How many of these go on to college? Use figures from your own acquaintance as well as others.

74. School Revenues. — Most of the money needed to keep up the schools is paid by each district in the form of a local tax. This is frequently the largest item in the tax bill, though that fact is nothing against it. No money spent by

the city or state gets more returns, even though they may be hard to measure exactly. In Massachusetts $24 out of every $25 spent on the schools comes from local taxes, and Massachusetts has excellent schools. Throughout the country about three fourths of the school income is secured from the community which is served by the school.

Many states appropriate considerable sums from the state treasury to help out the local schools, especially if there are rural or other needy communities which would otherwise find it hard work to keep their schools at a high standard. In the central and western states it is common to find certain permanent funds definitely set aside, whose income is used to help support the schools of the state. These are usually derived from the sale of public land, either that which was set apart for the use of schools when the townships were first surveyed or which has been devoted to that use since. In some states various kinds of fines, fees, and the like, even dog licenses and liquor licenses, have gone into the school fund.

In the entire country somewhat over $700,000,000 a year is spent on the schools, a tremendous sum, — about a third of what we used to pay for intoxicating liquor.

How much do the schools cost in your community and state? Do the taxpayers get their money's worth? How does your state compare with others in its support of public schools?

75. Making the Schools Useful. — How can we make the schools most useful to all the people? That question is asked more often than any other to-day by those who are interested in them. "Readin', and 'ritin', and 'rithmetic" no longer are the only subjects in the course of study, though they must always be given prominence. History and civics, music, art, science, foreign languages, commercial subjects, and others have their place, in many cases beginning in the early years of the course.

Do we teach too many things in the schools to-day?

Lately a great deal of attention has been given to subjects directly useful in the routine duties of home or industry, such as cooking, sewing, woodwork, metal work, and the like. Even though a larger percentage of the high school graduates each year go on to college, we have come to feel that the pupils who cannot go to college must be given just as good a training as those who do, for as long a time as

At Work in the School Gardens.
The children not only get healthful exercise, but have flowers or vegetables to repay their labor.

they are in the schools. Colleges are becoming more liberal, too, and many of them are now willing to take a high school graduate who has made a good record in any course which the high school has offered.

Night schools for the benefit of those over sixteen who have to work in the daytime are common in every large city, and a special appeal is made to foreigners to take advantage of these schools in order to learn English and otherwise qualify themselves to be American citizens.

Of what benefit is your school work to you? Can you judge the value of a course in school by the money you earn afterward? What changes in your course of study have been made in the last few years? Do you recommend any others?

76. School Buildings. — The new school buildings, as they are erected by old and new communities alike, are made as substantial and attractive as possible. Fireproof, well ventilated, well lighted, with homelike rooms, the modern schoolhouse is often the finest building in the community. It is possible to be extravagant in putting up school

Corridor of the High School, El Paso, Texas.

buildings as well as in any other respect, and people frequently complain about the cost of the schools more quickly than about almost any other public expense. But in view of all the school does to make the community a better place to live in, the people ought to be willing to pay money generously for this purpose, providing it is honestly spent.

The school buildings ought to be used more than they are. In the holding of public meetings, lectures, social gatherings, entertainments, educational and civic clubs, and every other kind of public assembly, the schoolhouses can be made of very great service to all citizens, old and young.

It is wise, too, for the playgrounds of a community to be managed in connection with the schools and to be located, if possible, on the school grounds. We have learned that the right kind of play is itself part of our education, and that if we train the mind without caring for the body we are neglecting the foundation of all health and sanity. Gymnasiums have a place in the ideal school building as well as book closets.

Open Air School Room, Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts.
For the benefit of children with tendencies toward tuberculosis. They keep comfortable even in cold weather.

77. New Features. — New ideas are advanced every hour, we might almost say, for managing the schools. Most of them which have anything whatever of good in them will get a hearing and trial somewhere. Some notions advanced in connection with the school are freakish, of course, yet many ideas which every one now accepts as reasonable were once laughed at.

The schools of Gary, Indiana, have been very widely

advertised in late years because their superintendent, having an extraordinary chance to build a whole new school system exactly as he wanted it, introduced some unusual ideas. By having the pupils go from room to room, being in a classroom one period and in a workshop or laboratory or auditorium or on the playground the next, it is possible to handle in one building almost twice the number of pupils that can be accommodated if one set of pupils stays in one room most of the time. These schools also try particularly hard to treat each pupil as an individual instead of as merely one of a crowd.

No other community needs to imitate every strange idea that has been put into practice at Gary, but the "platoon system" and the individual treatment of pupils are being employed in very many places with as great success as at Gary, even if they are not so widely known.

Do teachers deserve pensions and large salaries? Do parents take enough interest in schools? What other agencies than the schools furnish opportunities for education?

QUESTIONS

Why do we need public schools? Why should all taxpayers help support them? What advantage or disadvantage is there in public schools as compared with private schools?

Compare European school systems with ours. Why is there considerable difference in our public schools between one state and another? What parts of our public school system have grown most rapidly in late years? Give the main general facts about state supervision of the schools. Explain the changes in the "district" school system.

How are the schools in a district managed? Discuss the importance of the teacher and the qualifications he ought to have. Is the teacher's work appreciated as it should be?

What are some of the laws about school attendance? What is a continuation school? When and under what circumstances is it justifiable for a child to drop out of school? Who supplies the money to maintain the schools? From what sources is it derived? How much does it amount to?

What are the principal subjects taught in the schools to-day? Which of them were not taught when your father was in school? your grandfather?

Is it justifiable to spend large sums of money on school buildings? For what purposes other than holding classes should school buildings be used?

Mention some of the new features in the arrangement of school programs. Is it wise to teach all pupils in just the same way? Can you think of any real improvements that could be made in the schools that you know about?

SPECIAL TOPICS

Schools of a Century Ago.
An Eight-hour School Day.
The Gary Schools.
Pupil Self-Government in Schools.

Thus far we have been speaking of the civic problems which must be worked out mainly by each community in accordance with its own peculiar needs. Before we go any further it will be well for us to know how the officers are chosen who manage our public affairs, and to learn a little about the special duties of the most important of them.

Since so many officials are elected and public policies decided through the agency of political parties, we shall first explain their place in our activities and then describe briefly the framework of our governments, national, state, and local. We shall take them up in that order, because the national government concerns every one, no matter what city or state he lives in. The national government can then serve as a pattern with which to compare the state government and to point out the differences in form or method of working.

After doing this, we shall take up several problems which concern national rather than local policy, and with which the local community is not commonly so closely identified as with those which we have just been considering.

PART III

THE MECHANISM OF OUR GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER IX

POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTIONS

He serves his party best who serves his country best.
—Rutherford B. Hayes.

The people can overthrow civil evils whenever they want to, and can have a government as good as they themselves make it or as bad as they suffer it to become.—Joseph W. Folk.

78. Reasons for Political Parties. — No voter has any right to excuse himself for neglecting to take part in the nomination and election of public officers on the ground that his one vote does not count for much. A margin of just one vote has elected a governor in one of our states, and for local offices close contests are common.

Yet it is true that one man, unless he is exceptionally famous or influential, is not usually able to affect the opinions of very many other people by any expression of his own views. When thousands of persons who think somewhat alike combine to advocate certain principles or to support certain candidates for office, the chance for the success of their opinions or candidates is multiplied many fold.

It is as true in politics as in business that a good organization will make money and energy count for much more than the same amount could accomplish if every individual worked by himself. A *political party* may be defined as a group of

persons of similar political opinions, who have organized for the purpose of making their principles the policy of the government.

Of course all members of a party do not exactly agree on everything, but the very fact of drawing up a set of principles which shall be known as the party "platform" causes men to reason more clearly about their own views, and helps toward a better understanding of public questions. The party helps at least to bring out the great issues of the day, if there are any. The existence of more than one party is sometimes beneficial, too, in causing the persons who are in office to be more careful and honest than they otherwise might be, lest they should afford the party out of power too much to talk about when the next contest for office comes around.

What have been some of the great issues that have divided national parties?

79. Party Organization. — If we grant that parties are useful, we must admit the necessity of party organization, for nothing will succeed if conducted in a haphazard, unsystematic way. Every great party has its national committee, made up of one person from each state in the Union. Besides this, it has a state committee in every state, a county committee in every county, city and township committees, and often even ward or precinct committees, especially in the cities.

Each local committee is responsible for arousing interest in the party, getting the voters out on election day, and attending to the welfare of the party generally. These committees are usually chosen, when they are permanently organized, in the same way that the party candidates are nominated for office. Committees for a particular campaign are agreed upon in some way by the leaders of the party.

The party platform is drawn up at a convention of party candidates or of delegates elected specially for this conven-

tion. Often one man or a very few men do all the work of preparing the platform, and the convention does nothing but go through the form of consenting. Sometimes certain "planks," or statements of opinion, which the party leaders never intend to carry out are put into a platform in the hope of catching a few extra votes. Too often, as it has been expressed, a platform is something to get in on, and not to stand on after you get in. Such an attitude is dishonorable, and voters ought to rebuke at the first opportunity a candidate or a party that is guilty of it.

80. Dangers in Parties. — The ideal way to manage a party would be to have its affairs handled by its ablest and strongest men, who had been thoughtfully chosen for that purpose by the voters of the party. But unfortunately the men of high character who could do such work well are so active in other lines that they cannot take time to do the work of the politician. Besides, the rank and file of a party do not think as carefully as they should about the motives and ability of the men who control its affairs. As a result, party "bosses" who care for nothing but their own advancement and profit often get the machinery of the party into their own hands. They can then put themselves into office without trouble, or, as they sometimes prefer to do, put in less known men who will do as they are told by the boss.

The habit that many voters have of supporting blindly any candidate who bears their party name is the mainstay of the power of the boss. Only as the voters learn to judge a candidate on his own merits and to disregard party names when they mark their ballots, can we hope to force parties to select the best men for office and thus to get really good government.

If there is a political boss in your state, how did he get his power?

As it stands to-day, an officeholder who dares to defy party authority and act always as his conscience tells him is often punished for his uprightness by being denied any further political honors. Outrageous though such a situation is, the

mass of the voters are not thoughtful enough to discern and reward the official who really serves the people. The use of national party names in state and local elections is another unfortunate custom which confuses the voter and makes it much harder to obtain the right type of men for local offices.

Happily we have seen in the last few years a much greater spirit of independence than formerly prevailed. Voting a "split" ticket — that is, voting for a list of candidates for different offices who do not all belong to the same party — has become reasonably common. But we have still long to go before we reach the time when a candidate is judged on what *he* has done, what *he* believes, and what *he* can do, rather than by the party tag which has been attached to him by a group of politicians.

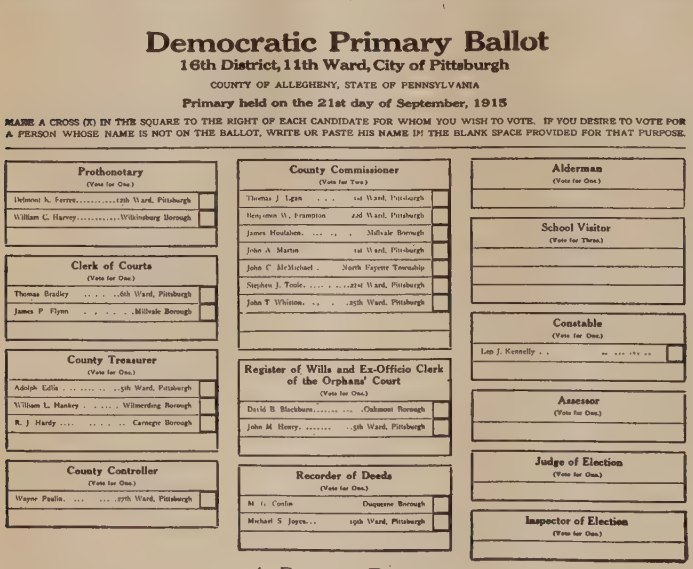
What seem to you to be the principal policies advocated by the political parties of to-day? Is there any advantage in having a governor of the same party as the majority of the legislature? How do the parties rank in your state? Is there any special reason for this?

81. Nominations. — For a great many years the most common way of selecting a party's candidates for office was by a caucus or convention. The term *caucus* may be applied to almost any kind of meeting of the members of one party within a limited district. It may include those in a certain precinct, in a state legislature, or in Congress. A *convention* is usually an assembly of persons who have been elected by caucuses or by other means to meet for some definite purpose. We still use the convention method for nominating a presidential candidate, and it is not easy to see how we can get rid of it entirely. But the opinion has become somewhat general, and not without reason, that a caucus or convention, on account of the small number of its members, is too easily handled by political schemers and "wire-pullers."

In order to give the mass of the voters in a party a fair chance to say something about its nominations, a different plan, known as the *direct primary*, has now been adopted

by a majority of the states and will doubtless spread to the rest. A few weeks or months before a regular election, a primary election is held, which is conducted by the same officers and in about the same way as the regular election.

Persons who wish to be the candidates of a certain party for office are required to present a petition signed by a certain number of voters, and a party ballot is prepared for each



Democratic Primary Ballot

16th District, 11th Ward, City of Pittsburgh

COUNTY OF ALLEGHENY, STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

Primary held on the 21st day of September, 1915

MAKE A CROSS (X) IN THE SQUARE TO THE RIGHT OF EACH CANDIDATE FOR WHOM YOU WISH TO VOTE. IF YOU DESIRE TO VOTE FOR A PERSON WHOSE NAME IS NOT ON THE BALLOT, WRITE OR PASTE HIS NAME IN THE BLANK SPACE PROVIDED FOR THAT PURPOSE.

Prothonotary (Vote for One)
Delmont K. Ferree.....12th Ward, Pittsburgh
William C. Harvey.....Wilkinsburg Borough

Clerk of Courts (Vote for One)
Thomas Bradley .....66th Ward, Pittsburgh
James P Flynn .....Millvale Borough

County Treasurer (Vote for One)
Adolph Edlis .....5th Ward, Pittsburgh
William L. Mankey .....Wilmerding Borough
R. J Hardy .....Carnegie Borough

County Controller (Vote for One)
Wayne Paulin. .....27th Ward, Pittsburgh

County Commissioner (Vote for Two)
Thomas J Egan .....1st Ward, Pittsburgh
Benjamin W. Hampton .....2d Ward, Pittsburgh
James Houlahen. .....Millvale Borough
John A Martin .....1st Ward, Pittsburgh
John C McMichael .....North Fayette Township
Stephen J. Toole. .....21st Ward, Pittsburgh
John T Whiston. .....25th Ward, Pittsburgh

Register of Wills and Ex-Officio Clerk of the Orphans' Court (Vote for One)
David B Blackburn.....Oakmont Borough
John M Henry. .....5th Ward, Pittsburgh

Recorder of Deeds (Vote for One)
M. C. Conlin .....Duquesne Borough
Michael S Joyce...19th Ward, Pittsburgh

Alderman (Vote for One)

School Visitor (Vote for Three)

Constable (Vote for One)
Leo J. Kennelly . .

Assessor (Vote for One)

Judge of Election (Vote for One)

Inspector of Election (Vote for One)

A Primary Ballot.

party. This contains the names of all would-be candidates for that party. When the voter arrives, he is given the ballot for the party to which he is supposed to belong, and is allowed to mark his preference for each office.

It cannot be truthfully claimed that all the improvement has come from this method which was hoped for, but at least if the mass of the voters in a party do not get the kind of nominations which they wish, it is nobody's fault but their own. The direct primary is certainly an important step toward government by the people.

It is still possible for a person to get his name on the ballot as a candidate in most states, even after the primaries. This is done by securing the signatures of a certain number of voters on a petition or " nomination paper " and entering the contest under some new distinguishing party title. Usually one or two per cent of the total vote of a state at the last election is required to secure the placing of a party name on the official ballot for the next election. Persons who have to get their names on the ballot in this way are under a decided handicap in running against the candidates of organized political parties, but they sometimes succeed.

82. The Campaign. — When the leading parties have adopted their platforms and made their nominations, the race is fairly on. The candidates and other " spell-binders " address public meetings or " rallies." Advertisements, news items, and editorials appear in newspapers and magazines urging the people to vote one way or another.

It used to be the custom more than now to hold big parades and burn a great deal of red fire and otherwise get the public excited over a party or a candidate, as in the famous " Log Cabin and Hard Cider " campaign of 1840. But with the spread of general intelligence it has become more common to use methods more suitable to educated men, though many of the arguments put forth in a political contest would sound foolish if employed in any other serious business.

In every national election and in the majority of state elections, the outcome is determined by the way the independent vote is cast. The particular appeal is therefore made to those voters who do some thinking for themselves, and the " regular," who would vote for a gray mule on his own party ticket, is simply urged to come to the polls on election day.

Most of the methods used by political parties are honest and honorable, but when the well-wishers of a party contribute generously to fill its treasury, the temptation is sometimes strong to use the party funds in ways that are

questionable or downright dishonest. Large corporations formerly gave liberally to campaign funds in the hope that the party which received their gifts would allow no laws to pass which would hurt the corporations.

To prevent the dishonest use of money, not only have states passed laws providing heavy penalties for bribery, but there are both state and national acts requiring the publication of the names of contributors to campaign funds, and forbidding a party to accept gifts from corporations. Candidates for office must also file statements showing their own receipts and expenditures.

What, in your opinion, are proper and improper uses of money in campaigns? Who contributes this money and why? Would conditions be improved if campaign expenses were paid out of the state or national treasury? Who should be punished, the man who gives a bribe or who accepts one, or both?

83. Elections. — Presidential elections are held on the Tuesday after the first Monday of November in leap years. Every state except Maine chooses its state officers and members of Congress on that same day of the year, whenever such officers are to be chosen. In many states elections for city, county, or other local officers are held separately from state and national elections, either in the spring or in December, or in alternate years. Such an arrangement helps to relieve the evil of mixing state and national politics. There is no general rule governing the time of holding primary elections. Each state settles that for itself.

Communities containing more than a few voters are generally divided into precincts or election districts. In each district there is usually a judge, with two or more inspectors and ballot clerks, chosen by the voters of the district and representing more than one party. The whole American election system really depends upon the honesty of these small election boards, for if they are too ignorant or corrupt to count the ballots correctly, there is not much use in holding an election at all. Each party may have

" watchers " at the polls, who can " challenge " persons whom they suspect of not being entitled to vote and can require them to prove their right.

It is pleasant to be able to say that " stuffing the ballot box " and other forms of cheating at elections are now, taking the country as a whole, exceptional instances, and are no longer excused on the ground that anything goes in politics

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PRESIDENT WILSON CASTING HIS BALLOT.
Princeton, N. J.

as long as our side wins. We should not feel, on the other hand, that all political workers can be trusted without watching. There are still dishonest men and men who cannot resist temptation.

The polls are open practically all of election day, although the exact hours vary in different states. Sunrise to sunset, 9 A.M. to 5 P.M., 7 A.M. to 7 P.M., are examples. Immediately after the polls close, the election officers begin to count the votes. If the ballot contains the names of many

candidates, constitutional amendments to be voted on, and the like, the work is long and tiresome.

After finishing the count, the officials send or take the returns to the county or state officer as required by law for the purpose of tabulating and officially announcing them. Usually the result of a presidential or other important election is known on election night through estimates based on the early returns gathered by newspapers, but if the vote in a state is close and the outcome depends on the vote in some country districts, it may be days before the result can be stated with certainty.

Bound the voting precinct in which you live. In what building is the voting done? How does the precinct generally go politically?

84. Qualifications of Voters. — We should understand clearly that the national constitution has little to say about who shall vote in any state. The 14th amendment declares that if states deny the vote to any male citizen over 21 years of age for any reason except the commission of some crime, their representation in Congress shall be cut down; but by various tricks this provision is evaded, and Congress has never dared to enforce the penalty. The states do almost exactly as they please in the matter, and the qualifications required of voters vary considerably.

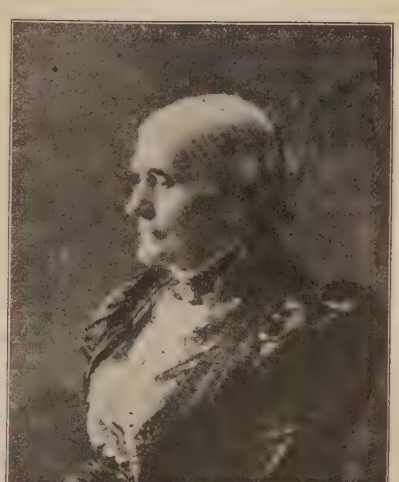
The ownership of property was once demanded in most of the states as an essential, but that has disappeared almost everywhere, as inconsistent with the spirit of democracy. An age requirement of 21 years is universal. United States citizenship is necessary in most states, though some allow an alien to vote who has declared his intention of becoming a citizen. A residence rule for the state and for the voting district prevails in most states, and several demand the payment of some kind of tax. Some states require the ability to read and write or to understand the constitution of the United States or the state.

Do you favor an educational test for voters?

In some states, particularly those with large cities, voters must go personally before a registration board and enroll their names, if they wish to vote. Some such rule as this is about the only way to prevent the " padding " of the voting lists with fraudulent names and voting more than once by the same person — " repeating," as it is called. In country districts and small towns such fraud cannot so easily be committed, and there the enrollment of voters is made by the assessors or other local officers.

Make up a complete and exact list of requirements for voters which you would consider fair and reasonable. How does this compare with the laws of your own state?

85. Woman Suffrage. — For many years a question much argued was whether women should be given the ballot on the same terms as men. Wyoming was virtually the pioneer in doing so, for as far back as 1869, long before it became a state, it allowed women to vote. A few women, like Susan B. Anthony and Lucy Stone, urged forcefully that it was unfair to limit the ballot to men, but for a long time they made little headway, and the question was treated as a joke by many people.



Susan B. Anthony.

But when the women took hold nobly in the various kinds of work made necessary by the Great War, it seemed a matter of simple justice to recognize their right to a voice in governing the nation. In June, 1919, the last steps were taken by Congress in proposing an amendment to the national Constitution requiring the states to give women

equal voting rights with men. President Wilson strongly urged its adoption, and the leaders of both the great political parties strove to gain votes by hurrying the governors and legislatures of states to accomplish its ratification. In August, 1920, after a bitter fight, the southern state of Tennessee was recorded as the necessary thirty-sixth state to bring this about, so that in the presidential election of that fall the women were able to vote all over the Union.

Would there be any advantage in having the right to vote regulated by the national government rather than the states? What is your opinion of woman suffrage?

To vote for a person, stamp a cross (X) in the square at the right of the name

REPUBLICAN TICKET		DEMOCRATIC TICKET		SOCIALIST TICKET	
For U. S. Senator H. W. JOHNSON		For U. S. Senator W. W. PATTON		For U. S. Senator A. B. COLE	
For Representative in Congress R. W. HARBISON		For Representative in Congress Wm. KETTNER		For Representative in Congress E. W. ROBBINS	
For Secretary of State F. C. JORDAN		For Secretary of State L. P. HOLMES		For Secretary of State C. S. TOLMIN	
For Comptroller J. S. CHAMBERS		For Comptroller H. F. RICHARDS		For Comptroller R. B. HUNT	
For Attorney-General U. S. WEBB		For Attorney-General F. R. WILKINS		For Attorney-General M. F. COSTELLO	

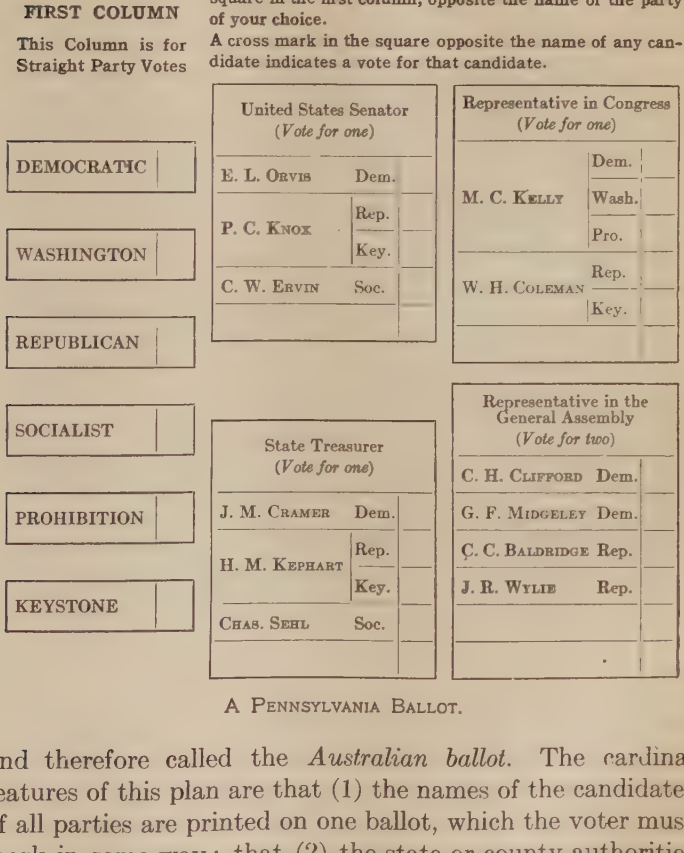
"Party Column" Ballot.

A form like this has been used by California, Vermont, and several other states, though some of them have abandoned it. The old style New York and Indiana ballot had also a picture of some kind at the top of each column as a distinguishing mark, with a place indicated where a voter could vote for an entire party ticket by making only one cross.

86. Forms of Ballots. — At the beginning of the nineteenth century people usually voted by word of mouth and in some states the polls were kept open for several days. In place of that method, the use of a written or printed ballot was later introduced, each political party supplying its own.

Although this was an improvement over the former practice, it was still too open and permitted fraud too easily.

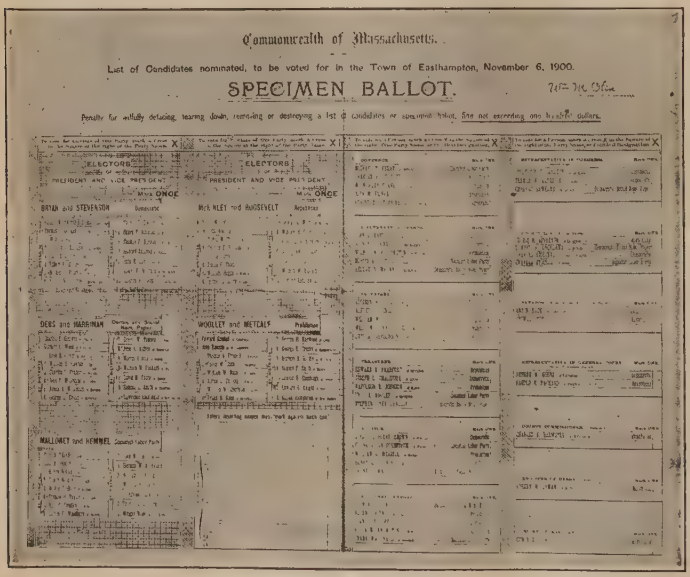
Beginning with about 1890 the states have adopted some form of the system of voting previously used in Australia


FIRST COLUMN
This Column is for Straight Party Votes
To vote a straight party ticket, mark a cross (X) in the square in the first column, opposite the name of the party of your choice.
A cross mark in the square opposite the name of any candidate indicates a vote for that candidate.
DEMOCRATIC
WASHINGTON
REPUBLICAN
SOCIALIST
PROHIBITION
KEYSTONE
United States Senator (Vote for one)
E. L. Orvis Dem.
P. C. Knox Rep. Key.
C. W. Ervin Soc.
Representative in Congress (Vote for one)
M. C. Kelly Dem. Wash. Pro.
W. H. Coleman Rep. Key.
State Treasurer (Vote for one)
J. M. Cramer Dem.
H. M. Kephart Rep. Key.
Chas. Sehl Soc.
Representative in the General Assembly (Vote for two)
C. H. Clifford Dem.
G. F. Midgeley Dem.
C. C. Baldridge Rep.
J. R. Wylie Rep.

A Pennsylvania Ballot.

and therefore called the *Australian ballot.* The cardinal features of this plan are that (1) the names of the candidates of all parties are printed on one ballot, which the voter must mark in some way; that (2) the state or county authorities supply the ballots; and (3) that the marking is done in a private booth, so that no one can see how the voter marks his ballot.

Bribery is discouraged by this system, because the briber cannot be sure that a bribed voter will mark his ballot as he agrees to. Independent voting is promoted, too, because men who, for fear of losing their jobs or incurring the ill will of some prominent person, would not dare to vote openly as their conscience told them, may have the courage to mark the ballot in secret in the way that they believe to be right.


Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

List of Candidates nominated, to be voted for in the Town of Easthampton, November 6, 1900.

SPECIMEN BALLOT.

Penalty for wilfully defacing, tearing down, removing or destroying a list of candidates or specimen ballot, not exceeding one hundred dollars.

ELECTORS

FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

VOTE ONCE

BRYAN and STEVENSON

Democratic

ELECTORS

FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

VOTE ONCE

McKINLEY and ROOSEVELT

Republican

DEBS and HARRIMAN

WOOLLEY and METCALF

Prohibition

MALLONEY and HENNEL

A Massachusetts Ballot.

There are several styles of arranging the names of candidates on the ballot. One system widely used puts all the candidates of one party in one column and allows a voter to vote for all these candidates by marking a cross at the head of the column. If he wishes to " split " his ticket, he can make a cross opposite the individual names of candidates, taking some of them from one column and some from another. The so-called *Massachusetts ballot* groups all the candidates for an office together, arranging their names in

alphabetical order. There is no "party square," and a voter must mark for each office separately. This form of ballot requires the most intelligence to use and encourages independent voting more than any other form. It has been adopted by several other states than Massachusetts. The systems in vogue in the other states are either a compromise between these two methods or a variation of one of them. Voting machines have been used in a few places, but they have not yet become generally popular.

87. Initiative, Referendum, and Recall. — With the spread of the spirit of democracy it is only natural that people should like to have some part in the making of laws as well as in the election of officers. Since the New England town meeting is suitable for only a comparatively small community, a kind of substitute which can be used on a much wider scale has been employed. This has found considerable favor, especially in the West, where people are not afraid of a thing merely because it is new, and are willing to try experiments. This plan is not an American invention, for the initiative and referendum, as they are called, have been in use in Switzerland, New Zealand, and elsewhere for some time.

The *initiative* is the right given to a certain percentage of the voters to draw up a law or force the law-making body to draw up one, to be submitted to popular vote. The submitting of a measure to popular vote before it is to go into effect is known as the *referendum*.

Referendum votes on laws, constitutional amendments, and the like, are generally taken at the time of regular elections, and the measures to be voted on are printed on the regular ballot. Special referendum elections, however, are sometimes held. Several states make use of the referendum in matters such as constitutional amendments and laws of unusual importance, even though they do not permit the use of the initiative; but the initiative would not be of much use without the referendum.

Experience seems to show that the use of these political instruments should not be made too easy, lest a small group of "cranks" might bother the voters too frequently by compelling them to vote on hasty measures which they might not understand at all. But it is well to have these weapons available when a legislature neglects to pass laws which the people really want. The initiative and the referendum are likely to promote public interest and encourage intelligent thought on the part of voters.

Is a voter likely to act more wisely in voting on a law than in choosing a member of the legislature to do it for him?

The *recall* is often mentioned in connection with the initiative and referendum, though there is no necessity for doing so. The recall permits a certain percentage of the voters, by drawing up a petition, to force an officeholder to submit to a special election before the end of the term for which he was elected. The result of the election determines whether he shall serve out the term or give way to some one else.

It is open to the criticism that it may make voters less careful about electing their officers in the first place and may be employed to make trouble for a good official whose duty had forced him to do a thing that was unpopular with a certain class. But since the process of impeachment is so difficult to use, it is possible that the recall, if safeguarded so that it could not be used recklessly, would be a desirable weapon to have at hand in case of an emergency.

Many people believe that the voters should elect only a few officers and should hold them responsible for appointing the rest. This idea is called the *short ballot.* What do you think of it? If it should be instituted in your community, what officers would you have elected?

Another idea is that of the *preferential ballot.* This permits a voter to indicate his second, third, and perhaps further, choices among the candidates for an office. In making up the returns such votes are combined with a candidate's "first choice" votes in some prescribed manner. How do you like it?

In some places if a voter may vote for two or three persons for a certain office, he is allowed to cast all his votes for one candidate. This is called *cumulative voting.* It aims to secure *proportional representation,* so that all the offices may not go to the most numerous party.

QUESTIONS

Explain how parties are managed. Define *platform; boss; caucus; convention.*

What does *nomination* mean? Explain *direct primaries.* In what ways are they better than the convention system for nominating candidates?

What is a *campaign?* How is it and how should it be conducted? Give your opinion about the use of money in trying to elect people to office.

When are elections held? Describe the holding of an election. Visit an election when it is under way if you can. How and when may we know what candidates are successful?

Who has the right to vote in your state? Who decides this? How much does the national government have to say about the matter? What is *registration* and why do we have it? Is there any reason why women should not vote? Where do they have the ballot (see map, page 145)?

Explain the Australian ballot and state its merits over the methods of voting formerly used. Compare the forms of ballots shown or explained in the text and give your opinion as to which is best. Which of these forms is most nearly like that used in your own state?

Define *initiative; referendum; recall; short ballot; preferential ballot.* Give your opinion of each of them.

SPECIAL TOPICS

How Political Parties Came into Existence in the United States.

What the Parties of To-day Represent.

Famous Presidential Campaigns.

The Story of Woman Suffrage, at Home and Abroad.

A debate on the Initiative, Referendum, Recall, or the Short Ballot.

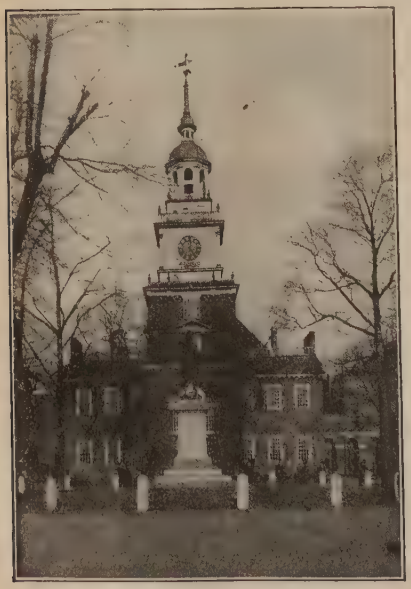
A debate on the question: Resolved, that elections for state or local offices should be on a non-partisan basis.

CHAPTER X

HOW OUR NATIONAL LAWS ARE MADE

Men are never so likely to settle a question rightly as when they discuss it freely. — *Macaulay.*

88. Making Our National Constitution. — At the close of the Revolution by which the independence of the United States was secured, the central government was conducted under the Articles of Confederation. These went into effect in 1781 after all the original thirteen states had accepted them. This confederation was so weak and inefficient that intelligent men such as Washington, Hamilton, and Franklin, saw that a stronger government must be established if the nation was to live.



INDEPENDENCE HALL.

In this famous building in Philadelphia the convention met which framed our national Constitution.

So, at a memorable convention held in Philadelphia in 1787 our present national Constitution was drawn up. It

contained very little that was wholly new. But its makers showed wonderful judgment in selecting the best features of the English government and the constitutions and laws of the states. Guided by their own common sense, they combined these so skillfully that only eighteen additions or changes have been needed in over a century and a quarter of marvelous growth and development. And many of these "amendments" were made right at the start, before it was certain that they would be needed at all.

One would be foolish to imagine that our form of government is so nearly perfect that it cannot be improved, but nevertheless we can take just pride in the thought that the United States Constitution and government have served as worthy examples for other peoples who were struggling for better things.

Could tyranny ever exist in this country? Is a majority vote always cast on the right side?

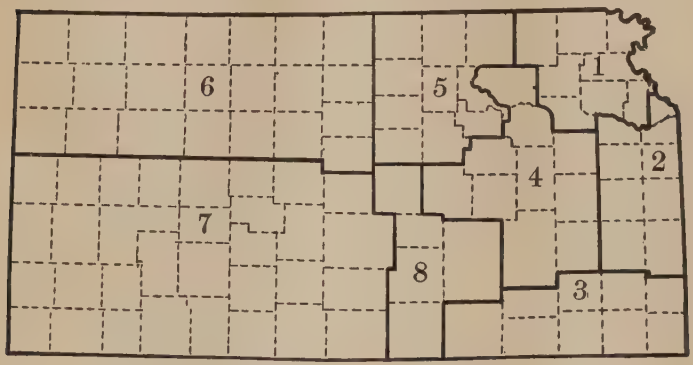
89. Congress. — The law-making branch of our national government is known as the Congress, and consists of two houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives. There are several reasons why our constitution-makers provided two houses instead of one.

The British Parliament, with its House of Lords and House of Commons, was to some extent looked upon as a pattern, though there are very many respects in which no likeness exists between those two bodies and the divisions of our Congress. Most of the states also had two houses in their legislatures. The opinion prevailed, too, that it was well to have two houses so that one might check the other and prevent the passage of some laws which might not be necessary or desirable.

90. The Senators. — The voters in each state elect two senators for a term of six years. In order to prevent great changes in the membership of the Senate, and to keep it a kind of conservative body, it is provided that the senators

shall be grouped into three classes, and the terms of each class shall expire two years apart. By this plan only one senator from a state is elected at one time, except when a new state comes into the Union or when an unexpected vacancy occurs through death or resignation. At least two thirds of the senators will always have had two or more years' experience in the office.

Each senator must be at least thirty years old, a citizen



A Fairly-divided State.

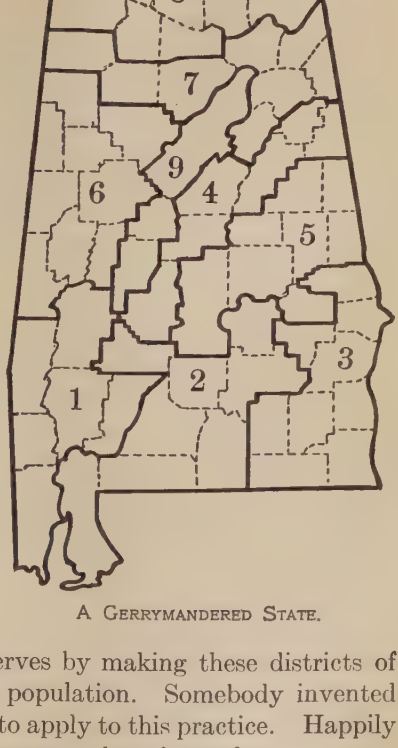
of the United States for nine years, and a resident of the state which he represents.

How many senators were there in 1789? how many to-day? Who are the senators from your state, and when do their terms expire?

91. The Representatives. — The number of representatives from a state depends upon its population. Each state has at least one. New York has the largest number — at present forty-three. The total membership now is 435. A census of the whole country is taken every tenth year (1910, 1920, etc.), and after the count of the population is finished, Congress passes an "apportionment" law, saying how many representatives each state shall have for the

next ten years. The proportion after 1922 will be about one representative for each 219,000 people.

The state legislature is supposed to divide the state into as many districts as there are representatives to be chosen, and then the voters in each district elect a representative. If a new apportionment adds to the number of representatives from a state, but the legislature neglects to make new districts, the extra member or members are chosen by the voters of the whole state. A member so elected is known as *Congressman-at-large.*



A Gerrymandered State.

The fairest way to district a state is to make the districts nearly equal in population and composed of compact territory. But legislatures sometimes try to give a certain party control of more districts than it deserves by making these districts of queer shapes and uneven population. Somebody invented the word " gerrymander " to apply to this practice. Happily the gerrymander is less common than formerly.

Make a map that will show whether your state is gerrymandered.

In order to bring the House somewhat nearer the people and to permit the frequent expression of public opinion, the terms of the representatives are shorter and their qualifications lower than those of senators. The term is two years,

and theoretically the entire House could be changed at once. Its members must be twenty-five years of age, citizens of the United States for seven years, and must live in the state from which they are elected.

By custom they generally do live in the districts which they represent, though this is not necessary. The English custom by which a district may elect anybody from anywhere to represent it has the advantage of keeping the strong men of all parties in office all the time, but the idea has never been popular in this country.

How many representatives does your state send to Congress? Name those who represent districts near you. What political ideas do they stand for? Is there any valid objection to the English custom in regard to the residence of representatives?

Up to 1917 only one woman had been elected to Congress. Is there any reason why women should not be chosen?

92. Special Powers of the Houses. — In addition to the general duty of law-making, which both houses share almost equally, each house is given by the Constitution certain special powers in which the other has no part. In impeachment proceedings, for example, the House of Representatives has the right to bring formal charges against a federal officer whom it believes to have been guilty of misconduct such as to demand his removal from office; but after the impeachment charges have been brought by the House, the duty of trying the accused official and deciding upon his guilt or innocence rests with the Senate alone. A two-thirds vote of the Senate is necessary to secure conviction.

In case no candidate for president or vice president secures a majority of votes of the presidential electors (§ 102), the Senate chooses the Vice President, and the House, the President.

Only the House may introduce bills for raising revenue to carry on the government, on the theory that the people can control the House more directly and that the people

should determine for themselves as far as possible when and how they should be taxed. But this power does not really amount to very much, for the Senate may amend revenue bills the same as any other bills coming from the House, and it sometimes amends them out of all likeness to the original.

In two matters the Senate alone has the power to act. Most appointments to office which the President makes must have the approval of the Senate, which gains thereby considerable political influence. Treaties, which are made under the President's direction, must also be ratified by the Senate. In this case a two-thirds vote is needed. Much weight in determining the foreign policy of the country may through this means be exercised by the Senate.

In one sense it would be incorrect to speak of one house as being more powerful than the other, since each may and often does defeat bills that have been passed by the other. But the Senate always has a larger proportion of experienced politicians in its membership; it has a more permanent and complete organization; and its members, being fewer in number, have a better chance of becoming known individually to the whole country. For these and other reasons the Senate has acquired somewhat greater prestige than the House. If the two houses disagree over some important matter the Senate more often than the House gets its own way in the end.

93. Sessions of Congress. — Regular elections for members of Congress are held in November of the even years, and persons chosen at that time begin their terms on the 4th of March following. The life of a single Congress is reckoned from March 4 of an odd year until March 4 two years later, since the Representatives are elected for that period only. A Congress is referred to by number, reckoned by counting the years from 1789 until the year when the term of its Representatives expires, and dividing by two.

During the life of a Congress two regular sessions are held.

One, known as the long session, begins on the first Monday of December of the odd years, and lasts until the houses get ready to adjourn — generally during the following spring or summer. The short session begins on the first Monday of December in the even years, and must end on the next 4th of March at noon, as the terms of its Representatives expire

THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON.

then. The session beginning December 4, 1916, was therefore the second regular, or short session of the 64th Congress.

Is there any sense in not having Congress assemble until the December after they take office?

The President sometimes calls Congress together in a special session, as he has the right to do whenever he thinks the public interest demands it. He may also summon the Senate alone for brief special sessions when treaties or appointments are to be considered, as the House has nothing directly to do with these.

94. Government and Rules of Congress. — Each house is the judge of the qualifications and conduct of its own members. If a person is a known lawbreaker, or if his election was obtained by dishonest methods, he may be refused admission. If two persons claim to have been elected to the same seat, the house which is concerned decides whom to admit. Perhaps this matter would have been better left to the courts, for now the vote in such cases is generally along party lines. Each house may also reprimand or even expel a member for improper conduct. But a two-thirds vote is required for expulsion, so as to make it unlikely that a member will be expelled merely to secure party advantage.

A majority of members is necessary to make up a *quorum* — that is, the number who must be present in order to carry on business legally. If a sufficient number are not on hand, those who are present may have the absent members brought in. In the House, too, the presiding officer counts every member as present if he is in the hall, even though he does not vote.

Each house keeps a journal, or official record, of its proceedings, and has it printed in that extraordinary publication known as the *Congressional Record*. This is supposed to be a word for word account of everything said in the sessions, and parts of it may be printed separately and sent out free of postage. Congressmen often abuse this privilege by getting "leave to print" or to "extend their remarks in the Record." Thus they get everything they want printed at government expense, and send back to the admiring folks at home copies of long speeches which were never delivered at all. This is particularly common when a congressman is running for reëlection.

Each house also makes its own rules of order. These differ in some notable respects, for things often need to be done differently in a body of fewer than a hundred men than in an assembly of over four hundred. The House adopts a set of rules at the beginning of each new Congress, although

these generally do not differ very much from those of the preceding Congress. The rules of the Senate continue unchanged except when the Senate takes special action to alter them.

In the House, the time that any member may occupy in debate is definitely limited, and all debate may be cut off by carrying the parliamentary motion known as the *previous question*. A standing Committee on Rules possesses almost arbitrary power in directing the business of the House and determining what bills shall be given preference in consideration by the House. In the Senate, however, until March, 1917, debate was unlimited. This privilege was supposed to make possible the bringing out of all possible arguments on a disputed question, though it is doubtful whether the votes of many senators were ever changed by the long-winded discussions that sometimes occurred.

Occasionally, notably near the end of a session of Congress, a trick known as "filibustering" is undertaken. By talking indefinitely and doing other things to take up time, a very few senators have been able to defeat measures desired by a great majority of the whole body. A senator once talked twenty hours consecutively. The feeling aroused by a successful filibuster against a bill which President Wilson desired when our affairs with Germany were in a critical state caused the rules to be changed, so that by a two-thirds vote the Senate can force the closing of debate on a measure.

95. Officers of Congress. — The presiding officer in the Senate is the Vice President, who takes no part in debate, and votes only when there is a tie. The Senate elects one of its own members as president *pro tempore*, who presides when the Vice President is absent, and who becomes the permanent presiding officer if the vice presidency is vacant. The Senate also has a secretary, a doorkeeper, a postmaster, a chaplain, and a sergeant-at-arms. The duties of the latter are to keep order, hunt up absent members, and the like.

In the House the regular presiding officer is the Speaker. He is elected from the House itself and is usually the leader of the majority party there. The position is one of much importance, though its powers have been reduced in recent years. No member may speak or offer a motion unless he is recognized by the Speaker, and the Speaker also makes rulings on points of order, on referring bills to committees, and the like, which indirectly may have an important effect

Senate Office Building, Washington.

on a bill's chances of becoming a law. He can be a tyrant on a small scale if he so desires; yet such a large body as the House would get nothing done unless sufficient authority were placed in some one's hands to direct affairs and keep business moving.

Is it better that the Speaker should be a mere presiding officer or that he should have extensive powers?

The House has a clerk, a sergeant-at-arms, and other officers like the Senate. Sometimes former Congressmen are elected to some of these positions, but no person may expect

to get one of them unless he is politically friendly to the party in power.

96. The Committee System. — A very large part of the business of Congress is done through committees. When a new Congress begins, a large number of standing committees are organized in each house to deal with certain kinds of business, as Interstate and Foreign Commerce, or Post Offices and Post Roads. Whenever a bill is introduced it is referred to one of these committees. In the House the Ways and Means Committee, which considers all tax laws, is regarded as the most important, and the chairmanship of this committee is an honor second only to that of Speaker.

The number of persons on a committee in the House runs from three to twenty-two, in the Senate three to fifteen. Membership on these committees is really determined by the leaders of the parties in Congress, members with the longest service being considered first. The majority party keeps the control of all the important committees in its own hands.

The committee system was borrowed from the English Parliament, but has been developed far beyond any use of it that England ever saw. Since many thousands of bills are introduced in every Congress, it would be absolutely impossible to allow every bill to be debated by the whole membership. Each committee selects from the bills which are referred to it the ones which it wishes to act on, and ignores the rest. Good bills as well as bad ones may be "killed" by a committee's refusal to consider them. But we have to put up with this disadvantage in order to get anything done at all. No doubt fewer good bills would be lost in this way if public records were kept of the way members vote while acting on bills as members of committees.

Find out the names of the chief standing committees of the two houses of Congress. Do any of the members from your state hold

prominent positions on them? How many bills were introduced into the last Congress?

97. The Process of Lawmaking. — The ordinary process which a bill goes through in order to become a law is about as follows: It may be introduced by any member of either house, unless it is a revenue bill, which must come from the House of Representatives. Then the presiding officer refers it to the committee which considers that kind of bills. At this point the great mass of all bills quietly meet a peaceful death. The committee does nothing with them and they are never heard of again.

If the committee decides that the bill ought to receive further consideration, they will report it favorably to the house, perhaps offering some amendments. After the report, the bill is put upon the calendar, to wait its turn.

When that time comes, it may be debated and perhaps amended. The greater part of the discussion is carried on while the House is meeting under the name of the "committee of the whole." At such times greater freedom in debate is allowed, and no record is kept of the way individual members vote. As a result many changes are made which would not occur if a public record were kept of such votes. The final vote on a bill, however, is almost always taken by a roll call of the members. If a majority of the members present and voting are then in favor of it, it will be passed, as far as that house is concerned.

All this has taken place in the house where the bill was introduced. Then it goes to the other house and must run an exactly similar gantlet there. If it is amended in the least, it must go back to the first house for its agreement. If the first house does not agree to the changes, a special *conference committee*, made up of members from both houses, will try to harmonize the differences between them. If the bill is at last agreed to by both houses in exactly the same form, it is sent to the President.

After a bill gets to the President, there are three ways by

which it may become a law: (1) He may indicate his approval by signing it. (2) He may keep it 10 days without taking any action on it. Treatment of this kind would indicate that there were some features about it which he did not like, but that for some reason he did not care to prevent its passage. (3) He may veto the bill, sending it back without his signature to the house where it was introduced, with a message telling why he disapproved it. Then the two houses by a two-thirds vote can pass it over his veto. This rarely happens.

Government Building, Newport News, Virginia.

If the President vetoes a bill and either house cannot give a two-thirds vote in its favor, the bill is dead, for that session at least. And if a session of Congress comes to an end before the ten days have expired which are granted to the President to think over a bill, that bill is considered dead. Putting an end to a bill in this way is known as the "pocket veto."

98. Powers of Congress. — The powers given to Congress by the Constitution may be classified as follows:

(1) *Financial.* Congress may lay and collect practically all kinds of taxes except taxes on exported goods, but all taxes must be uniform throughout the United States.

Congress may also borrow money on the credit of the United States. This is generally done through the issue of bonds. These are sold in the market the same as any other thing might be. They are really promises that the government will at a certain specified time, perhaps twenty or thirty years later, pay to the holder a sum of money, meantime giving him interest on it at regular intervals.

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A 12-INCH MORTAR, READY FOR ACTION.
Fort Wright, Fisher's Island, New York.

Congress may also coin money, regulate its value and the value of foreign coin, and provide for the punishment of counterfeiters.

(2) *Military.* Congress may provide and maintain an army and a navy, but in order that this may not be done contrary to the will of the people appropriations for this purpose cannot be made for more than two years at one time. In fact appropriations are made for one year only. Congress may provide for calling out the militia of the states,

and may make rules for their government as well as for that of the regular army.

It has the very important power of declaring war, and making rules in regard to captures in war. It has the right to grant letters of marque and reprisal, which would authorize a shipowner to go out as a privateer in time of war and plunder the enemy's commerce. But civilized nations no longer permit privateering, and probably this power will never be used again.

(3) *Territorial.* Congress may make all laws necessary for the government of the territory belonging to the United States, and may, when it thinks wise to do so, form states out of this territory and admit them into the Union. It has full authority over the District of Columbia, the seat of the national government, and over any place purchased by the national government and used for forts, docks, or other governmental purposes.

Although the Constitution says nothing about it, Congress is recognized as having the right to buy or otherwise obtain or dispose of territory. The Supreme Court has ruled that this power belongs to every government and therefore did not need to be specified in the Constitution.

(4) *Commercial.* This group includes a wide range of powers, to the full scope and importance of which Congress is only just now waking up. It has power to regulate commerce between the states, with foreign countries, and with the Indians. The right to regulate interstate commerce was not made use of until 1887 but has lately been tremendously extended to cover a great variety of laws affecting labor and industry.

Congress may establish post offices and post roads. By patent and copyright laws it may encourage scientists, authors, and inventors. It may fix the standard of weights and measures, though it has not yet exercised this power very fully. It may make laws governing bankruptcy, in order that a person whose business affairs have become hope-

lessly embarrassed may have a chance to start new again. This power also has not been exercised all the time.

(5) *Political.* Congress may pass naturalization laws authorizing a foreigner to become a citizen of this country. It may determine the punishment for treason, piracy, and offenses against international law, as well as for offenses committed on the sea. It has the important duty of organizing courts below the Supreme Court, and even of arranging the number of judges in that body and the regulations under which all the federal courts shall operate. It may propose amendments to the Constitution itself, in which case a two-thirds vote is required.

(6) *General.* At the close of Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution is attached a clause commonly known as the "elastic clause." This gives Congress power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution" any powers vested by the Constitution in any department or officer of the United States government. This seems on its face to authorize anything whatever that would help to carry out any of the powers we have named.

In the early days of our national history many held the view that the powers granted to Congress must be construed strictly, and that the national government must undertake nothing except what was specifically mentioned in the Constitution. But the decisions of the great Chief Justice John Marshall gave the support of the Supreme Court to the "broad construction" theory. To-day no honest and intelligent citizen would think of reversing this policy. Congress enacts to-day as a matter of course many measures to which nobody objects, but which it would be hard to find authorized in the Constitution.

Tell something about the leading advocates of "broad construction" and "strict construction" in our history.

99. Special Provisions Affecting Congressmen. — The Constitution declares that members of Congress shall be

paid a salary out of the national treasury. At first it was fixed by law at $6 a day, but has now been raised to $7500 a year. This is supplemented by various extras, such as a private secretary at $3200 a year, mileage to and from Washington at the beginning and end of a session, free stationery, and the "franking" privilege of sending mail free which deals with public business. The salary is not enormous, it is true, but it is more than some Congressmen could get at anything else, and with economy a Congressman can live on it very comfortably in Washington.

In order to prevent the bringing of private lawsuits or other legal obstacles to hinder a Congressman's attendance upon his duties, the Constitution provides that a member shall be free from arrest while present at the sessions of Congress and while going to and from them, except for the commission of a crime. A person engaged in making the laws certainly ought not to break them, and there is no reason for excusing from the proper penalties a Congressman who so far forgets the dignity of his office as to become a violator of the law.

To encourage the freest possible discussion of matters in Congress, no member can be called to account outside of Congress for anything he says while there. The house to which he belongs may punish him for abusing this privilege, but no one who feels injured by something a Congressman has said can proceed against him personally unless the objectionable remarks were made outside of Congress.

No member of Congress may hold any other office under the United States at the same time. He may, however, resign from Congress and then take another office. But not even this is permitted if the office was created or if its salary was increased during the time for which the person was elected to Congress. If this restriction did not exist, Congressmen might cause salaries to be raised or new offices established for the special purpose of getting them.

If a Congressman in a speech on the floor of the House accused the President's wife of being a thief, what, if anything, could be done about it? A Congressman in Washington once shot a negro in a street car. Could anything be done to him?

QUESTIONS

Why was our present national Constitution made? When and where? From what sources did its makers get their ideas? Did they do good work?

Of what is Congress composed? Why was this form adopted?

Who constitute the Senate? What qualifications must they have? How are they chosen and for how long?

How many representatives are there and how is their number determined? Compare their qualifications, term, and method of choice with the Senate. Define *gerrymander.*

State the special powers possessed by each house which the other does not have. Why does the Senate enjoy somewhat greater prestige than the House?

Explain the custom and law in regard to the sessions of Congress. What is the number of the session now going on or most recently held? When was the last special session called and why?

What control does Congress have over its members? Explain *quorum.* What is the Congressional Record? Mention some significant customs concerning debate.

Who are the presiding officers of the two houses, and what is the importance of their positions? What minor officers does each house have?

What is the purpose of the committees? How are they made up?

Trace the complete process of enacting a bill into law, noting (1) the action by the house where it was introduced, (2) further consideration by Congress, (3) the connection of the President with lawmaking. Define *conference committee, pocket veto.*

Mention the powers granted to Congress by the Constitution, classifying them as Financial, Military, Territorial, Commercial, Political, and General. Take some list of acts passed by a session of Congress and see what clauses of the Constitution would justify each particular act. Explain *broad construction* and *strict construction.*

What compensation do Congressmen get? Do you think it is large enough? What privileges do Congressmen enjoy by virtue of holding their office? What limitations are placed upon their holding other offices?

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Constitutional Convention of 1787.
A Day's Work in Congress.
What a Congressman Has to Do.
Leading Members of the Present Congress.
The Speaker and His Power.
Some Famous Speakers.
The Committees of Congress.
The Congressman from Our District.
The Senators from Our State.

CHAPTER XI

OUR CHIEF EXECUTIVE

Here was a type of the true elder race,
And one of Plutarch's men talked with us face to face. — *Lowell.*

100. Importance of the President. — The person in this republic who comes nearest to holding the place that a king or emperor enjoys in a monarchy is the President. He is elected indirectly by the people and after he has held the office he retires to live among them again like any other man. But while he is in office he represents the power of the nation in action, and no monarch who inherits his office, in any government in all the world, possesses as much real authority.

The enforcement of the laws at home, the protection of the honor and dignity of the nation in its relations with other countries, the spirit and motives which shall rule our national policies, all depend in large measure upon the character and ability of the man who lives at the White House in Washington. It is right that the American people should feel that the election of any president may be the making or wrecking of a nation's opportunities for greatness or service, and it is not strange that every other civilized nation feels a deep interest in the outcome of our presidential campaigns.

101. Term, Qualifications, and Salary. — The President is elected for a term of four years. The Constitution says nothing about reëlection, leaving the matter open for the

people to do as they please. Nine of our presidents have been honored in this way. Chiefly because Washington, the first president, refused to take more than two terms, no other man has received more than that number. But all the attempts to alter the Constitution so as to forbid re-election after one or two terms have failed. The people seem to feel that, whatever their custom may be, it would not be wise to give up wholly the right to elect a man as often as they please, if circumstances should appear to require it.

The suggestion has been made that the term should be extended to six years and no reëlection allowed. What advantages or disadvantages do you see in this plan? Would a business firm choose a general manager on such a principle?

The President must be 35 years old, a native-born American citizen, and a resident of this country for 14 years. They are generally considerably older than 35. Roosevelt, who was not quite 43 when he became president, was the nearest to the age limit, although some have been nominated when even younger than Roosevelt was. The other requirements are intended to make it certain that the president shall be a real American, who will understand the needs of this nation and put them first in his thoughts and plans.

The President's term begins on the 4th of March of the year following leap year. His inauguration, or formal introduction to office, is witnessed by many thousands of people from all parts of the country. Sometimes extensive military display accompanies the ceremonies. The President receives the oath of office from the chief justice of the Supreme Court. He then delivers his inaugural address. Sometimes this is an important discussion of national policies to be followed by his administration, as in the case of Lincoln in 1861.

The President's official residence in Washington is known as the White House. Connected with it are the executive offices managed by the President's private secretary and

assistants. The expense for the salaries of the secretaries, the maintenance of the offices, the conservatories, and other features of the presidential residence are met from the national treasury.

As a personal salary the President receives $75,000 a year. This sum is small in comparison with what the heads of most governments receive. People like to have the President do considerable traveling and visiting in different sections of the country. These are expensive if paid for, and yet it

The White House.

seems out of place for a president, by accepting favors from railroads or other public servants, to put himself under obligation to them. President Roosevelt therefore proposed that Congress should allow the president to be repaid whatever his traveling expenses for a year amounted to, if the sum did not exceed $25,000. This practice has generally been followed since.

102. Method of Election. — No part of the Constitution has worked as little in the way its makers expected as the method provided for electing the President. They planned

that a body of electors, specially chosen for intelligence and judgment, should carefully weigh the merits of public men and vote according to their independent convictions for men to serve as president and vice president. To-day, while the forms laid down in the Constitution are strictly observed, the electors are merely agents who vote as a matter of course for candidates who have been nominated beforehand by some political party. The process of selecting a president now includes the following steps:

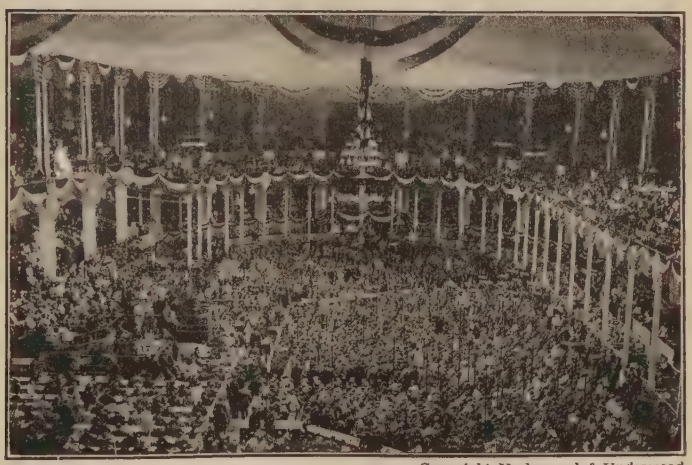
(1) *The nomination of candidates.* In the month of June or July in leap years each great political party holds a national convention in some large city of the country. Delegates to attend a party convention are chosen in each state by the members of the party in such a way as the laws of that state authorize or allow. Several candidates may be proposed before the convention by delegates from the different states. If more than one candidate is presented, the delegates take a formal ballot. Thirty or forty ballots are sometimes taken before a candidate is nominated. The Republicans require only a majority of delegates to make the nomination, but the Democrats require a two-thirds vote. A candidate for vice president is also selected. Before or after the nominations are made, a platform, or official statement of party principles, is adopted.

One might suppose that each party would try to pick out its ablest and wisest members to put before the nation as its candidates for high office, but frequently this is not done. A great man, because of his positive views on disputed questions, may have made enemies whom a less prominent man would not have and therefore the great man might not get so many votes as a less known candidate. Sometimes a candidate is favored who lives in a large state like New York or a state like Indiana which is likely to be evenly divided between the two great parties, in the hope that he will win this doubtful state for the party.

Sometimes when different factions in a party have been

fighting desperately to nominate a candidate of their own faction, a compromise is made by nominating a "dark horse," that is, some one who had not been mentioned prominently, if at all, in connection with the nomination. And many an influence unknown to the party at large finds its secret way to turn the action of a convention in a direction which even the convention may not fully realize.

(2) *The choice of electors.* The Constitution requires each



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DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING CONVENTION.
At St. Louis, July 14, 1916.

state to choose a group of presidential electors equal in number to the senators and representatives from that state in Congress. The total number at present is 531. In such a way as the laws of a state may require, each party nominates a list of candidates for presidential electors. On the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November the voters of each state choose the electors for that state.

Each voter may vote for the entire number of electors to which his state is entitled. By custom and common consent

it is understood that the Republican electors, for example, if they are chosen, will vote for the candidates already nominated by the national convention. A voter who favors election of the Republican candidates for president and vice president will therefore, if he has good sense, vote for the whole list of electors nominated by that party; for the personal qualities of the electors are of no importance, as they have nothing to do now but to perform a certain formal duty.

This November election is the decisive feature of the whole process. It follows a period of several months in which all kinds of efforts have been made to win votes. Unless the election is very close, it will probably be known during the evening of election day in almost every community which party has been successful in most of the different states and who will therefore be the next president. Most of the rest of the process which we are describing might as well be omitted as far as it has any real importance. But the Constitution provides it, and so it is carried out in due form.

Notice that except in very unusual circumstances the electoral vote of a state will be cast solidly for one candidate, even though his popular vote in that state may be only a little larger than that of some other candidate. Would it be possible for a candidate to get a majority of the electoral vote who did not stand first in the popular vote for the entire country? Prove your answer from our history.

(3) *Voting by the electors.* The electors in each state meet at their state capital on the second Monday of the following January and cast their votes for the candidates of the parties which they represent. They make out three reports of their balloting and send two of them to the presiding officer of the Senate at Washington. The third is left with the United States district judge in whose district they meet.

(4) *Counting the electoral votes.* On the second Wednesday in February both houses of Congress meet in the hall of the House of Representatives and in their presence the presiding officer of the Senate opens the returns and causes them to

be formally counted. If it appears from this useless ceremony that some person has received a majority of the whole number of electoral votes for president or vice president, he is declared elected.

(5) *Special election by the Houses.* If, however, no candidate for president has a majority, the election is referred to the House of Representatives, which will elect one of the three highest candidates. In this case the members vote by states, not as individuals. This has not happened since 1825, when John Quincy Adams was elected. If no one has a majority for vice president, the Senate makes the choice, voting individually. Richard M. Johnson was elected this way in 1837 — the only time it has occurred.

How much of this process of choosing the president could be safely done away with? Do you think of any possible improvements in any step of the process?

Review the story of the presidential election of 1876. How did the Electoral Count Act of 1886 aim to prevent the repetition of the events of 1876–77?

103. Succession to the Presidency. — If the President dies, resigns, or is removed, the Vice President becomes president. He also will act as president if that officer is temporarily unable to serve for any reason, though thus far no occasion has arisen to make this necessary. It is evident that the office of vice president ought to be filled with almost as much care as is shown in choosing the president himself.

The sad experience of the Whig party with Tyler and the Republicans with Johnson when those men unexpectedly became president ought to have taught parties to be careful in making nominations for the vice presidency. But in practice the candidates for this office are selected to represent a certain state or section or a disappointed faction of a party more often than for any other reasons.

Like an extra wheel on an automobile, a place has to be found to put the Vice President while waiting for an emergency in which he may be used. The Constitution therefore

makes him the regular presiding officer of the Senate. This is not an attractive place for a man of active disposition, and on that account men of real ability have sometimes objected to being chosen for the position.

What vice presidents became "accidental" presidents? Were any of them afterward given a regular election to the presidency? Can you think of any way of increasing the dignity of the office of vice president?

The Constitution gives Congress the power to arrange for the filling of vacancies in the presidency that may occur when the vice presidency is itself vacant. The law now in force provides that the heads of the executive departments, commonly known as the *Cabinet*, shall form the line of succession, as far as those departments were in existence when the law was passed. The Secretary of State heads the list, followed by the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the Attorney-General, the Postmaster-General, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Interior.

Why is it unlikely that any one further down the list than Secretary of State will ever act as president?

If the successful presidential candidate should die between the November election and the second Monday of January, what do you suppose would be done about it? What if he should die between the latter date and the 4th of March?

104. Powers and Duties of the President. — It will be noticed that while the president is primarily the "chief executive" of the nation he has some duties that are connected with lawmaking and some that have also a judicial phase.

(1) It is his duty to see that "the laws be faithfully executed." He can actually do very little of this kind of work himself, but his attitude toward the enforcement of laws and toward the faithful performance of duty by subordinate officers will have a tremendous moral effect upon the whole administration of the government.

(2) He is commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the

United States and of the state militia when called into the federal service. He may use this power in any way that is necessary to make the laws of the country obeyed. Although a declaration of war can come only from Congress, the president could so use the army and navy as to make war almost inevitable. No president has ever abused this

Courtesy of Pennsylvania Railroad Company

CADETS OF NAVAL ACADEMY, ANNAPOLIS, MD.

power, but if he should try to do so Congress could restrain him either by impeaching him or by refusing to spend more money on the army and navy.

Could the president take actual command of an army in the field in time of war? Would he be likely to want to do so?

(3) He appoints all officers of the United States whose appointments are not otherwise provided for, subject, with some exceptions, to the approval of the Senate. Such appointments made when the Senate is not in session will hold good until the close of the next session of that body. The requirement of the Senate's approval has led to the

practice known as "Senatorial courtesy." In accordance with this notion, if a man appointed to office is not satisfactory to the senators from his state, he may be rejected without regard to his fitness for the position. Presidents of course make occasional mistakes in appointments, and it may be well to have a check upon them. But it is nothing short of disgusting to witness the Senate rejecting a good man merely because a senator has a personal spite against him.

Along with the power of appointment goes the duty of signing the commissions of officers and the power to remove them from office. This rests entirely with the President. Federal judges, however, though appointed by him, can be removed only by impeachment.

(4) He may make treaties with foreign countries. As there is no limit to the subjects with which a treaty may deal, from the protection of game birds to the buying of provinces, a wide field is opened in which the President may undertake acts of far-reaching importance. In this matter, as in making appointments, the approval of the Senate is necessary, and here a two-thirds vote is required. In making treaties, therefore, the attitude of the Senate must always be kept in mind.

Frequently the President directs the Secretary of State, one of our foreign ministers, or some persons specially appointed, to do the actual work of treaty-making. A treaty is often named after some one who has had a hand in making it.

Do you think it is wise to tie the President's hands somewhat in treaty-making by requiring ratification by the Senate? Most countries do not do that way. Would it be better if only a majority vote were required?

(5) He decides whether to receive persons sent from other countries as ambassadors or ministers. The use of this power often determines whether another country shall be recognized as independent or which of two contending par-

ties shall be regarded by the United States as the lawful ruler in some other country. It might happen that so serious a question as peace or war could hang on the president's decision in exercising this power. The whole Mexican policy of President Wilson's administration rested on his refusal to deal with Huerta as the rightful head of the Mexican government.

(6) He must act upon all measures passed by Congress. Since it is very rare that a two-thirds vote can be secured in

President Wilson Addressing Congress.

Congress to pass a bill over his veto, this power gives the president much to say about lawmaking. Cleveland vetoed several times as many bills as all other presidents put together, but they were largely private pension bills. Some presidents get the same results by notifying the leaders in Congress privately that a certain bill will be vetoed if passed, and urging them not to allow it to get through Congress.

(7) He prepares a message to Congress at the beginning of each session and at such other times as he thinks desirable. The chief object of this is to recommend some matter for

Congress to act on, though sometimes, as the Constitution suggests, he may give them some "information of the state of the Union" which they had not received through the newspapers or otherwise. In order to obtain such information himself, he may require reports from the heads of the departments under his supervision on matters which concern their departments.

For a long time the presidents, beginning with Jefferson, who was not a good speaker, sent these messages in writing. But President Wilson, believing that a message delivered in person would receive much better attention, restored the custom of the first two presidents of presenting his messages before the houses meeting in joint session.

(8) He may call a special session of Congress when he thinks the needs of the country demand it. If the two houses disagree about the time of adjournment, the President may fix the date.

(9) He may grant reprieves and pardons to persons convicted of crimes against federal laws. A reprieve is a delay in carrying out a sentence. A pardon releases a person from whatever part of a sentence has not been carried out. He may also exercise the power of commutation, that is, making a sentence less severe. This form of judicial authority is a survival of one of the old powers of the English king. It does not extend to cases where an official has been impeached, else one of the checks which Congress has upon the other two departments would be made almost worthless. This power might be abused by a president to set lawbreakers free, but no one has ever done so or is likely to do so.

In fact, the worst charge that can be truthfully made against any of our presidents is that they have made mistakes, and have at times done the thing that seemed most advantageous politically rather than that which demanded the highest moral courage. But they will compare more than favorably with any line of rulers that any other country has ever had.

Is there any respect in which you think the power of the President should be increased or diminished? Mention some important occasions when the action of the President determined the course of American History. What questions of precedent or authority were raised by President Wilson's participation in the Peace Conference at Paris?

QUESTIONS

Why is the office of president important? Compare it with positions of prominence in other countries.

Explain the law and custom in regard to the President's term. Do you think there should be a limit to a person's holding any office? Tell the main facts about the inauguration of the President. What compensation does he get for his services? Is it enough? What qualifications must he possess? Why? Mr. Bryce has written on "Why Great Men are not Chosen President"; should that be taken as a reflection on the men who have served in that office? If not, what does it mean? Can you mention any cases when something else than real fitness for the office had something to do with the election?

How are presidential candidates nominated? Explain the electoral college: its numbers and its functions. Why is the vote of a state rarely divided? Wherein does the process you have described differ from what the makers of the Constitution intended? How large a vote of the electors is necessary to cause an election? What happens if no candidate gets so many as that? When has such a thing occurred?

Should the office of vice-president command much respect? Does it? What is the order of succession to the presidency below the vice-president?

Summarize the powers and duties of the President. Are his powers limited more or less than they should be? What is the importance of the message and how is it delivered?

Define *reprieve; pardon; commutation.*

SPECIAL TOPICS

The White House.
The Life of the President.
Our Present President.

CHAPTER XII

NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENTS

The very essence of free government consists in considering offices as public trust, bestowed for the good of the country. — Calhoun.

105. Development of the Cabinet. — The Constitution nowhere states that there shall be a Cabinet. In Article II, Section 2, there are two allusions to the heads of departments, but everything else about the Cabinet is the outgrowth of custom, not of the Constitution or of any law. The ten executive departments are each established by act of Congress, but in no law are they required or assumed to act together.

In Washington's presidency four officials composed his list of advisers — the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, and the Attorney-General. In 1798 the Secretary of the Navy was added. In 1829 the Postmaster-General, whose office had existed for many years, began to be considered one of the Cabinet. In 1849 the Secretary of the Interior was provided for, and in 1889 the Secretary of Agriculture. In 1903 a new department was created which ten years later was divided into two, headed by the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Labor. During the campaign of 1920 both of the leading candidates for the presidency announced that if elected they would invite the Vice-President to attend Cabinet meetings. Hereafter this office will doubtless retain this added dignity, and will serve as a kind of link between the executive and legislative departments.

Who are the present members of the Cabinet? Recall any past Cabinet officers whose service was marked by notable accomplishments.

106. Functions of the Cabinet. — There are two definite functions which the Cabinet, either by law or custom, has come to exercise:

(1) Each member is the head of an administrative department, and some members have authority over many thousands of subordinate officials and employees. For the management of his department each Cabinet member is responsible to the President, who appoints him for a term corresponding to his own, but who may remove him at will.

Office of the Secretary of the Treasury.

(2) The members, either individually or as a group, act as advisers to the President. Washington was in the habit of consulting them separately, but in a short time the custom was established of holding meetings at which all the members might express opinions on questions of public policy. Now regular meetings are held at a fixed hour twice a week and special meetings at such times as the President wishes them. Sometimes the President asks the Cabinet to agree on a policy which the administration will follow in dealing with a certain matter; but he reserves the right either to disagree with their recommendations or to pursue a policy on his own responsibility, as Lincoln did in issuing the Emancipation Proclamation. The members sometimes differ in their opinions; but if a member found himself seriously or repeatedly at variance with the President or his associates, he would probably relieve the embarrassment of the situation by resigning.

Show how Congress might exert partial control over the Cabinet.

107. Comparison with the English System. — Although we have taken the word " Cabinet " from the English government, their Cabinet is so different from ours that some of the distinctions should be carefully noticed.

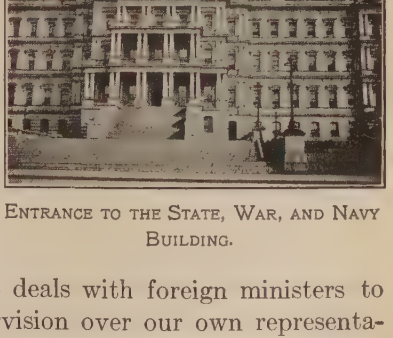
(1) The English Cabinet members have seats in Parliament.	Our Cabinet cannot be members of Congress. Why?
(2) The English Cabinet proposes the important laws of Parliament and has general control of Parliamentary proceedings.	Our Cabinet can do no more than recommend that Congress pass a bill or get a member to introduce a bill as a favor.
(3) The members of the English Cabinet belong to the party which controls the House of Commons, and will resign if they cannot keep control of that body. Their term of office depends on their ability to keep command in Parliament.	Our Cabinet are usually members of the President's party, which may not happen to be the party that controls Congress. They may stay in office as long as they please the President, subject only to the impeachment power of Congress.
(4) The offices included in the English Cabinet sometimes vary in different ministries, and the pay varies with the office.	The membership of our Cabinet does not vary except as new offices are permanently added, and the salary is uniform — now $12,000 a year.
(5) The English Cabinet act as a unit with the prime minister, or premier, as the real head of the government.	Our Cabinet do not have to agree on all matters. No one member can control any officials except his own subordinates, and all are subject to the will of the President.

In short, the United States has the presidential system of government, with responsibility for administration centered

in the President's hands. England has the parliamentary system, with responsibility centered in the Cabinet, which is really a committee of Parliament. The English system makes no attempt to separate the three departments of government, — executive, legislative, and judicial. Most governments follow the English cabinet system.

Which system makes it easier to change the government to agree with changes in public sentiment? How far, if at all, would you advise either Great Britain or the United States to adopt the other's methods of government?

108. State Department. — If there is any distinction in rank among the departments in the Cabinet, first mention should go to the Department of State. The Secretary of State and three Assistant Secretaries are at the head of it, and the Counselor advises it on points of international or domestic law. It has two kinds of work to perform, which do not have any necessary connection with each other.



Entrance to the State, War, and Navy Building.

(1) The department directs the administration of foreign affairs. It deals with foreign ministers to this country and has supervision over our own representatives in foreign lands. It is frequently intrusted with the work of making treaties. The Secretary of State should be a skilled diplomat, and many of them have been so. Men like Adams, Seward, Blaine, and Hay rank high among the diplomats of the world.

(2) The department has various clerical duties. It keeps the originals of all laws and treaties and causes copies of them to be published. It also has charge of the great seal of the

United States, which must appear on the President's proclamations and on many other public documents.

109. Treasury Department. — The Department of the Treasury has the oversight of the financial affairs of the United States. The Secretary of the Treasury has general responsibility for the management of the entire department. He has three Assistant Secretaries.

FRONT OF THE TREASURY BUILDING.

The Treasurer of the United States is in actual charge of the keeping of the government's money. The Comptroller of the Currency has special duties in connection with the national banks of the country. The Register of the Treasury keeps a record of all paper money, bonds, and the like, issued by the government.

The Commissioner of Internal Revenue supervises the collection of internal taxes, such as those on tobacco and liquor. The Director of the Mint has charge of the coining of money, and the Superintendent of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing has charge of the printing of the paper money and certificates of all kinds. There are several Auditors, who inspect the accounts of the other Cabinet departments.

The Secret Service was originally established to detect counterfeiters and so was placed in this department, although it does many other kinds of work. The Surgeon-General of the Public Health Service and the Captain Commanding the Coast Guard, under whose direction is the Life-Saving Service, are other officers in the Treasury department who do not seem to have any special reason for being in that department rather than somewhere else. The total number of clerks in customhouses, tax collectors,

and employees of all grades makes the payroll of the Treasury department a very extensive one.

110. War Department. — The Department of War has charge of the United States Army and of activities connected with the national defense, such as the fortification of the coasts and the improvement of rivers and harbors. One of the greatest engineering works of all the ages, the Panama Canal, was constructed under the direction of Colonel George W. Goethals and his assistants from the Engineering Corps of the army.

At the head of the Department is the Secretary of War, with three assistants. They are not usually military men. The management of the department's affairs is done through several bureaus, such as those headed by the Quartermaster-General, who provides supplies for the army except food; the Commissary-General, who supplies the food; the Chief of Ordnance, whose work is to provide the weapons; the Surgeon-General, who looks after the army's health, and others.

As a connecting link between the War Department and the army itself, a General Staff was created in 1903 on the recommendation of President Roosevelt and Secretary Root. The head of this group is the Chief of Staff, who is, for the time being, the acting head of the army. The other members are army officers of different grades. Their work is to recommend plans for national defense, to make suggestions in regard to the needs of the army, and in general to harmonize the work of the department and the army.

111. The Army. — All able-bodied men of the ages of 18 to 45 inclusive are legally included in the *militia*, and are therefore liable to be called on for military service in times of necessity. Their number to-day counts up over 20,000,000. But only a small fraction of these have the least idea how to use a gun or to care for themselves in camp.

In time of war such ignorance might be disastrous to the nation. The experiences of nations in the great world-

conflict have convinced many Americans that every man physically capable of receiving military training should be compelled to have a certain amount of it.

The American people, however, like the British, do not take kindly to compulsory service in times of peace, and one cannot now predict with certainty what our permanent policy will be. The entry of the United States into the Great War was marked by one great change from our past custom. Instead of calling for volunteers in large numbers,

REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE.

To whom it may concern, Greetings:

No. _____
(This number must correspond with that on the Registration Card.)

THESE PRESENTS ATTEST

That in accordance with the proclamation of the President of the United States, and in compliance with law,

_____, _____
(Name) (City or P. O.)

Precinct _____ County of _____, State of _____,

has submitted himself to registration and has by me been duly registered this _____ day of _____, 1917.

8—4227

_____
Registrar.

CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION UNDER SELECTIVE DRAFT ACT OF 1917.

Every man who registered received one of these certificates.

Congress passed an act requiring the registration for possible service of all men of the ages 21 to 30 inclusive, and from these, with certain exemptions, troops were drawn. Later all men within the militia age were required to register. 3,700,000 men were in France or were in training here before the armistice was signed which ended the fighting.

Before this occurred, Congress had raised the strength of the army in peace time, always pitifully small, to a maximum of 175,000, and had provided for bringing the National Guard of the states directly under federal control. In addition to

the supply of trained officers furnished by the National Military Academy at West Point, N. Y., special training camps for officers and men were authorized at Plattsburg, N. Y., and other places. Here men who were interested in military life or were impelled by a sense of duty to learn something about it, were given an acquaintance with it without being required to enlist in the regular army.

A Squad at the Plattsburg Training Camp.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is quoted as saying that compulsory military training for all men would be the strongest possible influence toward democracy. Do you agree with him? Why?

112. Navy Department. — This department has charge of the construction, equipment, and repair of war vessels, and the general direction of their operations. Congress has appropriated money for building a government armor plant which will be under this department's direction. The Naval War College at Newport and the Naval Academy at Annapolis are also controlled by it. The men at the head of the department are the Secretary of the Navy and one Assist-

ant Secretary. Presidents have been known to appoint men to these positions who have seldom been aboard a warship.

Several bureaus administer the work of the department, such as the Bureau of Yards and Docks, of Ordnance, of Steam Engineering, and of Construction and Repairs. There is a General Board, composed of officers whose duty it is to give advice and recommendations concerning the policy and management of the navy, but it is not at all the equivalent of the General Staff in the War Department, and each bureau operates more or less independently. The naval officers of high rank are alternated between service at sea and shore duty in connection with one of the bureaus or elsewhere.

113. The Navy. — The opinion has been common in this country that a strong navy is more necessary to our safety than a strong army, because most of the enemies whom we might have to meet could approach us only by sea. After years of neglect, a " bigger navy " policy was adopted and ships were built until we were surpassed only by Great Britain. Before the Great War Germany passed us, but we have now regained second place. Over 60,000 officers and men are in service in time of peace.

One unfortunate feature of naval construction is the cost of keeping a navy up to date. New inventions and improvements have followed each other so rapidly that a ship is hardly more than completed before a new idea in construction makes it a back number, and in a few years it is worth not much more than so much junk. The dreadnaught, the battle cruiser, the submarine, and the aëroplane, the latter having its uses on both land and sea, have shown surprising developments in late years. Some have hesitated to favor spending much money on war vessels for fear it would be money utterly thrown away. Our national dock yards have been used chiefly for repair work. The building of the vessels has most often been done by contract with a private shipbuilding firm.

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WAR VESSELS IN SAN DIEGO HARBOR, CALIFORNIA.

In the foreground are submarines, with larger vessels in the distance.

Admitting that some form of national defense is necessary, do you favor a large army or a large navy? To what type of warship do you think we should give greatest attention? Does Great Britain need a navy more than we do?

114. Department of Justice. — Not organized as a department till 1870, though its head, the Attorney-General, was an officer in the first of our Cabinets, the Department of Justice is perhaps the least known of any. Yet some official of the department conducts every case in the federal courts in which the United States is concerned. And the Attorney-General is the chief adviser of the President and other federal officers on points of law and constitution. Next to the

Mail Trucks Loading up with Sacks to be Taken to the Railroad Station.

Attorney-General come the Solicitor-General, seven assistant attorneys-general, and a solicitor for each of several other departments of the Cabinet.

115. Post Office Department. — No branch of the national government reaches the ordinary citizen as directly and as often as the Post Office Department. The carrier who brings the mail to our door or the country postmaster who hands it out from the office window is a familiar figure to every child, yet they are just as truly officers of the United States as the President himself.

It is a great business that Uncle Sam is engaged in, this job of carrying the mail — one of the very few business

enterprises, in fact, that he conducts. He allows no one else to engage in the same business and does not care very much whether he makes money at it or not. For his main object is to render as much service as he can, and some postmasters-general have cared too little whether they made both ends meet.

THE POSTMAN.

Besides carrying letters, cards, magazines, papers, and parcels of all kinds, and exchanging them with other countries all over the globe, the department conducts a postal savings bank. At every office of importance any person may open a savings account and deposit a sum up to $2500 on which the government will pay 2 per cent interest. At this low rate there is almost no competition with private banks; but as some people will trust the government with money which they would not put in the care of any one else, money is brought into circulation which otherwise would be hidden somewhere doing nobody any good.

The Postmaster-General is the head of the department. There are four assistant postmasters-general and several chiefs of divisions who are responsible for a certain part of the business. There are about 54,000 post offices scattered all over the country, each of which has its postmaster and such clerks and carriers as it needs. Very many rural delivery routes have been established in late years, and as these take the farmer's mail almost to his own door many country post offices have become unnecessary. The salary of the postmaster depends on the amount of business done by the office. Formerly appointments were made on the

recommendation of some congressman or other person in politics; but now most postmasters, the clerks in the larger offices, and all city and rural carriers, over 200,000 in all, must take an examination before being appointed and are chosen from those who get the higher marks on the examination.

Mail matter is classified as first class if it is written or sealed; second class if magazines, newspapers, or other periodicals published at least four times a year; third class if circulars, photographs, or other printed matter than books and periodicals; and fourth class or parcel post if merchandise or books. In carrying parcels and selling money orders competition has been permitted, and a person might take his choice between having Uncle Sam or a private express company do it for him. During the Great War the express business was taken over by the government.

Find out the main facts about the rates charged for the different classes. Is there any reason why the postage on newspapers and magazines should be so much less than it costs to carry them?

116. Department of the Interior. — Perhaps the easiest way to explain the varied duties of the Department of the Interior is to say that it supervises all the activities of the federal government in domestic matters which are not assigned to some other department. At its head are the Secretary of the Interior and two Assistant Secretaries, and it is subdivided into several bureaus, each presided over by a commissioner or director. In explaining briefly the duties of these officers we can sketch the functions of the department.

The Commissioner of the General Land Office has charge of the public lands of the United States and superintends the surveying and selling of them.

The Commissioner of Pensions directs the examination of claims for pensions for those who have served in the army or navy of the United States or who were dependent upon them, and oversees the regular quarterly payment of pensions to those whose names are on the rolls. Our govern-

ment has been very generous in this respect. There have been at times a million names on the list at once, and a total of over four billion dollars has been paid from the treasury for this purpose since the Civil War.

Should a pension be regarded as a right or a favor?

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs looks after the interests of the Indians who are still living as tribes on reservations. Their education, the protection of their rights, the assignment of land to them as individuals, are examples of his

Jupiter Terrace, Yellowstone Park.

The National Parks are under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior.

duties. No longer can our government be accused of treating the red men unjustly, but the reform was a long time coming.

The Commissioner of Patents has charge of the granting of patents. These give to an inventor the right to control the manufacture and sale of an invention for a period of 17 years. The commissioner has a considerable force of assistants and examiners to look into the various claims and decide which are just and worthy. The Patent Office, which preserves plans or models of hundreds of thousands of inventions of all grades of merit, is a remarkable institution.

The Commissioner of Education has the duty of collecting facts and figures in regard to educational conditions in the country and of publishing them for the benefit of school officials and the public. He has no actual authority over the schools in any state, but indirectly has been able to give inspiration and help and advice that have often been valuable.

Courtesy of the Reclamation Service

SHOSHONE DAM, WYOMING.
This is 328 feet high and 200 feet across the top.

The Director of the Geological Survey is in charge of the study of the geological formation of the different parts of the land. Especially his office tries to discover the location and extent of the mineral deposits of the country.

The Director of the Reclamation Service is concerned with the irrigation of the desert lands and the construction of the great dams and reservoirs which provide the water to make these lands fit for cultivation. Much money has been invested by the government in this enterprise, with results that are wonderfully encouraging.

The Director of the Bureau of Mines conducts the work of the government for the preservation of the mineral resources of the country, the wise and careful operations of the mines, and the safety of the men employed in them.

117. Department of Agriculture. — Beginning in a modest way its work along lines intended to benefit the farmers of

the country, the Department of Agriculture has taken up a wide range of activities important to the health and prosperity of all classes of people. It is headed by the Secretary of Agriculture and the Assistant Secretary, and its work is divided among several bureaus.

WAITING FOR INSPECTION.

A section of a large stockyard, showing its general structure. Federal inspectors are stationed at all such places where interstate trade is concerned.

Best known of these is doubtless the Weather Bureau. Weather statistics are twice daily gathered by it from all sections of the country, and forecasts are published which have been the means of saving lives and property to an extent which cannot easily be measured but which must be very great.

The Bureau of Animal Industry inspects meat intended for interstate or foreign shipment, and tries to prevent diseases among cattle.

The Bureau of Plant Industry tries to find methods of improving crops, introduces new varieties, and studies the prevention of the growth of weeds and harmful plants.

The Bureau of Forestry has charge of the national forest reserves, plants trees for future use, and has tried to arouse the people to the dangers of wanton cutting down of our forests.

The Entomologist studies bugs and insects and the means of preventing their ravages.

The Experiment Stations at various places, especially at the state colleges aided by appropriations from the national treasury, try to learn the crops that can best be grown in certain sections and the conditions most favorable to their growth.

The Chemist examines foodstuffs and drugs that are on the market, to find whether they contain adulterations or poisonous or otherwise harmful ingredients. His work is of great value to the public health.

118. Department of Commerce. — The name of this department suggests its work — to attend to the interests and needs of American commerce and trade. Like several others it has a Secretary and an Assistant Secretary, and is organized in bureaus. Of these the Census Bureau is the most familiar. Every ten years it takes a complete census of the population of the United States, and in the meantime is engaged in tabulating its returns and in gathering and publishing statistics concerning the industries and the people of the land. The Bureaus of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, of Lighthouses, of Fisheries, of Navigation, and of Standards, and the Coast and Geodetic Survey, are the most important phases of this department's activities.

119. Department of Labor. — The infant among the administrative departments is the Department of Labor. It interests itself in gathering information about conditions in the world of labor and industry and in trying to improve them. The Bureau of Immigration receives and inspects

the hundreds of thousands of foreigners who come to our ports every year and tries to direct to a proper place those who are admitted.

Hand in hand with this bureau works the Bureau of Naturalization. Its heads try to keep in touch with the foreigners who have come here to stay and to direct their steps toward American citizenship. It coöperates with night schools in the cities and otherwise does everything possible to further the steps of the immigrant toward intelligent citizenship.

The Children's Bureau investigates anything that concerns the health, the occupations, or the welfare of children. The Women's Bureau is intended to do a similar work for women, especially those engaged in industry.

120. Interstate Commerce Commission. — Three important commissions deserve special mention. They are not directly connected with any department of the Cabinet, but are responsible to the President and make reports directly to him or to Congress.

The Interstate Commerce Commission was organized by Congress in 1887, to take advantage of the neglected power to regulate interstate commerce. Since then its powers have been greatly increased. It has nine members, each of whom gets a salary of $10,000 a year. They earn it. They have jurisdiction over all matters arising under the laws governing interstate commerce as far as they affect railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone companies, sleeping car companies, and oil pipe lines.

They investigate supposed violations of these laws and have power to bring such cases before the courts. Changes in rates which are proposed by the companies under the supervision of the Commission must have its approval, and the Commission itself has the right to fix the maximum rate which may be charged.

Appointments to this Commission have been made by the presidents without regard to politics, and the value of its services in securing fair treatment to shippers and the general public is not likely to be reckoned too highly. Safety in travel and sound management of the roads themselves can be partly credited, too, to the work of the Commission.

121. Civil Service Commission. — It is too bad that the American people had to let the " spoils system " kill a president before they realized how vicious it was. From the time of Andrew Jackson this custom of turning out the members of the defeated party from the offices which they held was the regular rule in the national government, as it had been in some of the states from even an earlier time. President Grant and a few reformers had tried to make a change in this practice, but they got almost no support from Congress.

But the murder of President Garfield by a disappointed office-seeker brought up the evil in such a way that it could no longer be neglected. Finally in 1883 the Civil Service Commission was organized. It received authority to make rules to govern the examination of public officers, and to investigate violations of laws affecting officeholding.

The President has the right to designate the offices for which a competitive examination must be taken. This cannot be required of the highest offices in any department; but postmasters, mail clerks and carriers, clerks in the departments at Washington and elsewhere, and almost all appointees who need technical or scientific knowledge, must first pass an examination.

All examination papers are marked by examiners connected with the Commission, and when a vacancy occurs in an office in the " classified service " the person appointed is to be taken from the three whose marks in the examination for that position were at the head of the list. No one would pretend that a person's ability can be fully tested by such an examination, but at least it assures the appointment of persons who possess a reasonable amount of general intelli-

gence. And for some offices the examinations require special training of a high order.

Of the 460,000 persons now in the public service about two thirds had to pass examinations before they were appointed. President Roosevelt added more offices to the list to be filled by examination than all the other presidents. Cleveland, Taft, and Wilson also deserve much credit for similar service to the cause of good government.

The Civil Service Commission has three members appointed by the President, with a chief examiner and such other clerks as they need. The commissioners must not all belong to the same political party.

122. Federal Trade Commission. — A late feature in the line of federal commissions is the Federal Trade Commission. The purpose of this body is to supervise the business operations of large companies so as to prevent the use of unfair methods. It has power to order a corporation to stop a practice which it considers unjust. The Commission may require reports from corporations, and may make recommendations to Congress in regard to trade conditions affecting the United States. It has five members.

123. Special Institutions. — Several institutions with headquarters in the city of Washington exist more or less independently of other branches of the government and are important on their own account. We shall mention four of these:

The *Library of Congress* is one of the largest and finest in the world. It has at present over 2,000,000 publications on its shelves. In connection with the Library is conducted the granting of copyrights. A copyright may be granted to the author or publisher of a book, picture, piece of music, or other composition, allowing him the sole benefit of its publication for 28 years, and it may be renewed by him or his heirs for 28 years more.

The Smithsonian Institution and *National Museum* were founded for the purpose of carrying on scientific studies and

preserving a collection of objects of historical or scientific interest. The institution was started with money left by an Englishman named James Smithson. It has assembled a marvelous collection of articles which could not possibly be duplicated anywhere.

The *Government Printing Office*, presided over by the Public Printer, is the largest printing office in the world. It

FRONT OF THE CONGRESSIONAL LIBRARY, WASHINGTON.

prints the Congressional Record and the reports of the various departments. Several of the departments, notably the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture, issue a large number of pamphlets and bulletins containing a great variety of helpful information. These they either give away or sell at cost to those who wish them.

The *Pan-American Union* was organized for the purpose of collecting facts and spreading information about the countries of the New World so that they may know more about each other. The Director and his Assistant try to create a friendly sentiment and common sympathy among the republics of North, Central, and South America. Their headquarters are in a fine building given by Andrew Carnegie.

The support of this Union comes partly from the other countries of the New World.

In some places graduating classes in high schools make a trip to Washington instead of spending large sums on elaborate graduation exercises. Do you think this is worth while?

QUESTIONS

What offices compose the Cabinet? What constitutional basis is there for its existence? What are its two chief functions?

Point out definite contrasts between our Cabinet and the English body which is called by the same name.

Explain the duties and organization of the State Department. Name some of our great Secretaries of State, and mention some of their special services.

What are the special duties of the principal officers in the Treasury Department?

Explain the services and organization of the War Department. Who are legally included in the *militia?* What had been our policy in regard to a standing army prior to the Great War? Do you think that was the right idea? What changes in our military system were caused by our entrance into the War? What is the significance of the terms *National Guard, West Point, Plattsburg?*

State the functions and organization of the Navy Department. Compare our army and navy with those of other countries. Should we try to keep up with them?

Explain the work of the Attorney-General and the department of which he is the head.

What is the importance of the Post Office Department to the ordinary citizen? Of what use are the postal savings banks? Explain the classification of post offices. How many are there? How are postmasters chosen? How are the different kinds of mail classified and what are the rates? Does the post office make money? Should it?

Name eight important bureaus or divisions in the Department of the Interior. Explain briefly the work of each. What is a patent? On what terms may it be obtained?

Is the Department of Agriculture of greater service to farmers or to other people? Mention the principal officials connected with it, and tell their duties.

What are the principal matters attended to by the Department of Commerce?

Describe the main services of the Department of Labor.

What authority does the Constitution give for the Interstate Commerce Commission? What is the nature of its work?

Why was the Civil Service Commission created? How does it carry on its work? What presidents have been particularly interested in it? Should all offices be filled only by persons who have gained first rank in a competitive examination?

For what purpose does the Federal Trade Commission exist? Do you think its powers should be extended?

Mention four important special institutions in Washington and explain their purpose. What is a copyright? How is it secured?

SPECIAL TOPICS

A Sketch of the Present Cabinet.

The Treasury Building.

The Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

The Life and Work of a Soldier.

The Life and Work of a Sailor.

West Point and Annapolis.

Resolved, that the money spent on an army and navy, beyond what is needed for police service, is wasted.

The Different Types of War Vessels.

The Autobiography of a Letter.

The Dead Letter Office.

The Patent Office.

The Weather Bureau.

The Census Bureau.

How the Immigrants are Received.

A Civil Service Examination. (Let the class try one.)

Each of the four special institutions mentioned will also make an interesting study if time permits.

CHAPTER XIII

OUR NATIONAL COURTS

Justice, sir, is the greatest interest of man on earth. — Webster.

124. Services and Importance. — No other courts in the world have so great power and importance as those of the United States. Nowhere else is the judicial department considered on a plane of equality with the executive and legislative, and nowhere else does it have power to set aside rulings or acts of the other departments.

The kinds of cases tried in federal courts may be grouped in three classes:

(1) All cases arising in the enforcement of any law of Congress, of the Constitution, or of any treaties made in accordance with it.

(2) A class of cases which might not receive unprejudiced consideration in the courts of a state; such as, disputes between the states, between citizens of different states, or between a state and a foreign country or the citizens of either. In order to limit the number of cases that the federal courts shall have to deal with, Congress has provided that a suit between citizens of different states must be brought in the state courts if the amount involved is not more than $3000.

(3) A class of cases which would not properly come under the jurisdiction of any particular state. This includes: cases affecting ambassadors and other foreign representatives, because their personal dignity gives them too much impor-

tance in our international relations to make it wise to allow a state court to deal with them ; crimes committed or cases arising on the waters beyond the limits of any state; and cases to which the United States itself is a party.

The federal courts have been very careful to keep their activities within the limits given them by the Constitution. They will not take upon themselves any responsibility which the Constitution gives to any other branch of the government. They refuse to give general opinions, and insist on having a particular case brought before them, before they will render any decision on the constitutionality or meaning of a law.

125. Relation of State and Federal Courts. — We should understand clearly that the federal courts are created for the special purpose of dealing with the kinds of cases we have just mentioned, and that all others are reserved wholly to the state courts. Every crime committed or other case arising under the laws of a state, even so serious an offense as murder, is dealt with as a rule by the state courts alone.

But if the defeated party in a case in a state court declares that the law or constitutional provision which concerns his case is contrary to a law or treaty of the United States, or if his rights under the United States Constitution are being disregarded, he may appeal his case from the state court to the federal court. The final decision in any case of this kind rests with the Supreme Court of the United States, and whatever that court decrees must be accepted without question by the courts of every state. Unless this were so, no strong central government could exist.

May a state court declare a law of Congress unconstitutional?

126. District Courts. — Congress is authorized by the Constitution to establish courts of lower grade than the Supreme Court. Exercising this power, Congress passed the famous Judiciary Act of 1789, of which Oliver Ellsworth was the principal author. So well drawn was this law that we hold to-day to the plan of organization set forth in

it. Two grades of courts are provided in addition to the Supreme Court, which is required by the Constitution itself.

There is at least one federal District Court in each state, and the larger states are divided into two or three districts, or even four in New York and Texas. Each district court has at least one judge. In each district there is also a United States district attorney, who has charge of prosecuting offenders against the national laws, and a United States marshal, who makes arrests and performs such other duties as the courts may require, including the care of convicted persons until they have been safely placed in a federal prison or have otherwise performed their sentence.

There are also United States Commissioners in each district who give hearings to people accused of breaking a national law and decide whether the evidence is sufficient to make the trial of the case worth while.

These courts have original jurisdiction only. That is, they try only cases which have not been heard in any other court. Every kind of crime or lawsuit that may be tried in federal courts is brought before a district court, except two rare kinds of cases that are reserved for the Supreme Court. Cases are tried before a jury, and the method of trial is in general like that in the ordinary county court which we shall later describe. (§§157, 158.)

127. Circuit Courts of Appeals. — A person dissatisfied with the rulings of a judge, or with some other feature of the trial of his case in the district court, may appeal to a higher court known as the *circuit court of appeals*. For this purpose the country is divided into nine circuits, each one of which contains at least three states. From two to five circuit judges — 32 in all — are appointed in each circuit.

They hold court without a jury at different places in their circuit, and hear appeals from the district courts in that circuit. Unless the case brought before them involves a question of constitutionality, or for some other reason requires a ruling from the Supreme Court on such a point as

the interpretation of a law, the decision of the Circuit Court is final and ends the case.

128. Supreme Court. — The Supreme Court consists of a chief justice and eight associate justices. It meets only in Washington. Like the Circuit Court of Appeals, it has no jury, and except in rare cases hears no witnesses. Lawyers present the argument on each side of the case, and a majority of the justices is sufficient to render an opinion.

It has original jurisdiction in two kinds of cases — those concerning ambassadors and other foreign representatives, and those in which a state is a party. In other cases its jurisdiction is appellate, as the Circuit Court's jurisdiction is entirely — that is, the cases to be heard have been appealed from some lower court. Cases may be appealed directly to the Supreme Court from the district courts or from the highest court of a state or territory, if the point at issue involves the United States Constitution or the final interpretation of a national law.

The authority of the Supreme Court is greater than that of any other court in the world. Its opinion in all matters brought before it is final, and every other branch of the government is expected to abide by its decision. No matter how much Congress or the President may wish to see a law in force, if the Supreme Court says the law is unconstitutional, no citizen need feel bound to obey it.

Yet even the Supreme Court would not wantonly exercise this great power; for it must depend upon the executive branch to carry out its decisions, and Congress may by law alter the organization of the court itself. The need for the three departments to work in harmony and with mutual respect is clear. So wisely has the Supreme Court conducted itself in almost every instance that the finality of its opinion is generally accepted by the country as a matter of course.

Is the Supreme Court in 1920 bound to adhere to the same principles in its decisions as the Court in 1820? Andrew Jackson, when President, is said to have remarked on one occasion, "John Marshall

has made his decision. Now let him enforce it." What do you think of a remark of that kind?

129. Special Courts. — A few special courts have been created by Congress to deal with matters of peculiar character. The Court of Claims, made up of five judges meeting at Washington, hears all money claims against the United States other than pensions. If it decides in favor of a claimant, he may then go before Congress and ask for an appropriation to pay off the claim. The Court of Customs Appeals is another court of five judges with power to make rulings on points arising under our tariff laws. The courts of the District of Columbia, by reason of their location, sometimes have to deal with cases that would not come under an ordinary state court. Each territory has its own courts, too.

130. Term and Salary of Judicial Officers. — All federal judges are appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate, and their term is for good behavior, which generally means for life. They can be removed only by impeachment proceedings. They are separated as far as possible from any temptation on account of popular prejudice or political influence to consider anything else than their honest convictions in making a decision.

The supreme justices get $14,500 a year, with an extra $500 for the chief justice. Judges in the Circuit Court and the Court of Customs Appeals receive $8500; in the District Courts and the Court of Claims $7500, with $500 more for the chief justice of the Court of Claims. At the age of seventy a judge may resign or retire with his salary continued at the same rate. But many judges prefer to continue all or a part of their work after reaching seventy.

The life term does not apply to district attorneys and marshals or to territorial judges. They are also appointed by the President, and their term is generally four years.

Is the life term for judges inconsistent with the general ideas of American government?

QUESTIONS

Of what unusual importance are the national courts in this country? Why are national courts needed? What three classes of cases are tried in them? Give examples under each class. If the President wished to know how the Supreme Court would rule on a matter in which he was interested, how could he find out? Is this a good plan?

What relation do the state courts bear to the federal courts? Explain fully your answer to this question: If John Smith were convicted of murder or of counterfeiting in the courts of the state of Virginia, could he appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States?

What are the three grades of federal courts? Explain the organization of each grade. What special work is assigned to each? Make clear the particular importance of the Supreme Court. Who are its present members and how long have they served? What special federal courts are there outside of the regular system? State the term and salary of federal judges.

Are the federal courts in any way dependent upon Congress or the President?

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Supreme Court: Its Members and Its Customs.
Resolved, that judges should be elected by popular vote.
John Marshall.
Some Important Supreme Court Decisions.

CHAPTER XIV

MISCELLANEOUS FACTS ABOUT NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Our Country . . . however bounded or described, and be the measurements more or less, — still our country, to be cherished in all our hearts and defended by all our hands. — Winthrop.

131. Removals from Office. — Sad but true it is that sometimes Americans who have no right to ask such honor get into office. Occasionally one is dishonest. More often the fault is plain unfitness for the position. For the good of the nation such men ought not to be allowed to remain in public service.

We have already noticed that either house of Congress may expel one of its own members by a two-thirds vote, and that any persons appointed by the President may also be removed by him, except judges. The same rule applies to persons appointed by lower administrative officers; but those appointed under civil service rules may not be removed without cause, and they may receive a formal hearing of the charges against them if they wish it.

One method provided by the Constitution may be used against a president, vice-president, judge, or any administrative officer. That is *impeachment.* Formal charges of impeachment may be drawn up by vote of the House of Representatives. The impeached person is then tried before the Senate. If the president is under impeachment, the chief justice presides, but in other cases the vice-president or president *pro tempore.* If two thirds of the senators present vote against him, the accused person is found

guilty. In that case he must be removed from office, and may be disqualified from holding any other office under the United States.

Thus far impeachment proceedings have been used only against men holding prominent offices and accused of really serious misconduct. Experience shows that it is much easier to impeach than to convict, for out of ten impeachments the Senate convicted only three persons. Some other means than impeachment has always been found sufficient in the cases where lower officers were to be removed.

132. Treason. — Lest the government should become high-handed and deny to people the right to criticize it reasonably, the Constitution declares that only two offenses can be considered treason. These are making war upon the United States, and giving assistance to the enemies of the country. Moreover, it is also required that a person shall not be convicted of this grave crime unless he admit his guilt in court or two witnesses testify to the same treasonable act.

Under such restrictions few convictions for treason are likely in this country. The famous case against Aaron Burr fell through because of lack of witnesses, and not even after the Civil War was any one punished for treason, although in a certain sense those who fought for the Confederacy made war upon the United States. Congress may determine what the punishment for treason shall be, but no one other than the guilty party himself shall lose any of his rights on account of that person's fault.

The proposal has been made that it should be considered treason to attempt to kill the President. Would you favor such a definition of the term? Is the constitutional limitation of the term too narrow?

133. Amending the Constitution. — Times change, and the needs of government change with them. He would be a foolish constitution-maker who did not provide some way

to keep the constitution up to date by such changes and additions as experience might show to be necessary. But in keeping with the ideas of years ago the process of amendment was made fairly difficult, so that no amendment is likely to be adopted which is not demanded by a large majority of the people.

There are two ways of proposing amendments: (1) Congress may propose them by a two-thirds vote of both houses. (2) A special convention must be called by Congress to propose them if the legislatures of two thirds of the states request it. Only the first of these methods has thus far been used.

No proposed amendment will become a part of the Constitution until it has been accepted by three fourths of the states. The approval or disapproval of the states may be given either by their legislatures or by special conventions called for that particular purpose. Congress decides which method of ratification shall be used. Thus far it has always referred an amendment to the state legislatures.

What advantage does either method have over the other?

There is no fixed time limit to the process of ratification. No amendment thus far added has required more than four years for ratification. In proposing the prohibition amendment in 1917 Congress provided that it would not be valid unless ratified within seven years, but the propriety of such a restriction is questioned by some able constitutional lawyers.

134. The Amendments. — Eighteen amendments have been made. The first ten are in the nature of a Bill of Rights. They were ratified in 1791. They were really unnecessary, but were added to make it certain that the making of the new government did not take away from the people any rights which they had previously enjoyed.

The Eleventh Amendment was adopted in 1798. It forbids the bringing of a suit in the national courts against a state

by a citizen of another state. The amendment was a mistake, and was the result of an unreasoning fear that the national courts might disregard the rights of a state.

The Twelfth Amendment, adopted in 1804, instructed the presidential electors to vote for president and vice-president separately.

The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth, adopted in 1865, 1868, and 1870, grew out of the issues and problems of the Civil War. Slavery was abolished and the attempt was made to give the former slaves all the privileges of citizenship, including that of voting. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth have been in part evaded in the South.

The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Amendments were ratified by the required number of states in 1913. The former definitely gave Congress the right to levy an income tax. The latter provided for the election of United States senators by popular vote. The Eighteenth, ratified in 1919, forbade the manufacture or distribution of intoxicating liquors in the United States for use as a beverage. It went into effect one year from the date of its adoption. The Nineteenth, ratified in 1920, forbade the states to deny women the right to vote.

Numerous other amendments have been discussed in Congress from time to time, and some have even been laid before the states.

135. The "Unwritten Constitution." — Like every other people, we are in the habit of observing certain customs and practices in government just as faithfully as if they were definitely written in our Constitution. Probably it is not wrong to call these customs, as some do, the "unwritten constitution" of this country.

The custom that presidential electors shall always vote for the regular candidate of their party seems to be firmly established. The existence of the Cabinet could not be more evident if a thousand laws were passed in regard to it. That the United States may annex territory anywhere will no

longer be questioned. The vital part in legislation taken by the committees of Congress shows no sign of change.

One would best not be too hasty in assuming that a practice is permanent because it has been observed for a long time. Only a few years ago it seemed settled that the speaker of the House would always appoint the House committees, but that rule has been set aside. Events of recent years

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HARBOR, SAN JUAN, PORTO RICO.

seem to indicate that the people may some time disregard the hoary tradition which would refuse a man more than eight years in the presidency. Yet it certainly is plain that some customs may become just as positively a part of our political practices as a law or a constitution itself.

136. The Territories. — During practically all of our national existence there has been a considerable amount of land that was either thinly settled or wholly unoccupied except by savages. About the close of the Revolution several of the states turned over to the national government

much wild land which they had claimed. To govern some of this land the Congress of the old Confederation passed the famous Northwest Territory Act of 1787.

So well thought out was this law that its general features have been regularly observed from that day to this in dealing with regions not ready to be made into states. To settle any doubt about the right to govern such territory, the Constitution specifically declares that "Congress shall have

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DOUGLAS, ALASKA.

The steep wooded slopes furnish much lumber. With all its evident newness, the town has electric lights and a fine school building.

power to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property of the United States."

The form of government known as a *territory* was devised to prepare for full self-government a region which was expected to become in time a state. A governor, other executive officers, and judges are appointed by the President for a term, usually, of four years. A territorial legislature of two houses is elected by the voters of the territory, but its laws are subject to the veto of the governor and to the disapproval of Congress as well. The voters of the

territory elect a Delegate, who has a seat in the national House of Representatives and may take part in debates, but has no vote.

Only six states of the Union besides the original thirteen did not go through this territorial stage, — Vermont, Kentucky, Maine, Texas, California, and West Virginia. At present Hawaii and Alaska are territories, and under the law of 1917 the government of Porto Rico is very nearly the same. None of these seem likely to become a state very soon.

137. Colonies or Possessions. — Other lands owned and governed by the United States are called *colonies*, *dependencies*, or *possessions*. Their relation to our national government does not differ much from the relations of the well-managed British colonies to their mother country, or the royal colony in America before the Revolution. The chief difference between these possessions and the territories is that the possessions are given whatever form of government seems best suited to them, without thought of whether they will ever become states or not.

The islands of Guam and Tutuila and the new Virgin Islands acquired from Denmark are directly under the authority of officers of the navy. The Panama Canal Zone is managed by a civil governor with several subordinate departments.

The Philippines have furnished the most serious problems in our government of colonies, because of their situation and the various races and stages of development that have existed there. Our policy has been to give them steadily more and more of responsibility for their own administration as fast as they became fitted to exercise it. They have now a governor-general, and a vice-governor, appointed by the President, who must be Americans, three other executive officers appointed by the President, who may be Filipinos, and a legislature composed of a senate and a house of representatives elected by the men of voting age who can read and write some language or dialect. The Philippines elect

two commissioners, who attend our national House of Representatives.

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HOUSE BOATS AT MANILA.

These boats are the permanent homes of many families. The view in the distance shows that Manila possesses many features of a live modern city.

Whether the Philippines shall be permanently retained under the ownership of the United States or given their independence has been one of the notable disputed questions of

public policy since the islands were acquired. Unfortunately the merits of the question have been obscured by mixing it with party politics. The latest law for Philippine government declares it to be the intention of the United States to give the islands their independence when they are ready for it. But this declaration is so indefinite that one can hardly say that we are absolutely committed to any specific policy.

Discuss the desirability and justice of Philippine independence.

The decisions of the Supreme Court sustain Congress in the right to pass any laws it wishes concerning the District of Columbia, the territories, and the possessions, without regard to the acts of any territorial legislatures. In the possessions, there may even be different tariff laws from those applying elsewhere, and the people may receive all, a part, or none at all of the rights of citizens of the United States, as Congress may decide.

138. District of Columbia. — The Constitution gives Congress full power to control the seat of government and any other government property, such as forts, arsenals, dockyards, and other public buildings. As at present governed, the District is treated simply like so much property. Its affairs are managed by a board of three commissioners appointed by the President. Congress itself acts as the law-making body. The cost of government is paid half from the national treasury and half from taxes on private property in the District.

The permanent residents of the District do not vote for any officers whatever and have no part in their own government. Nevertheless the city of Washington, with the Capitol, the Library of Congress, the White House, the many other public buildings, the beautiful streets and parks, is a most attractive city and its people appear to be contented with their government.

Is the government of the District an example of "taxation without representation" or "government by consent of the governed"? Is it justifiable?

139. Protectorates. — There are certain regions over which the United States government exercises supervision but which it does not own or govern entirely. Cuba, for instance, is subject to intervention from the United States to put down internal disorder. Its foreign affairs and financial management must also be satisfactory to our government. The financial administration of the republics of San Domingo and Haiti has been assumed by the United States. With the republics of Panama and Nicaragua we have an understanding which gives us the right to offer suggestions in connection with certain phases of their government. The relation which we hold to these smaller countries we speak of as a protectorate.

The chief reason for our taking up any responsibility for them lies in their incapacity to manage their own finances. Many Europeans have money interests in these places. Since the United States through its Monroe Doctrine has commanded Europe to refrain from interfering in the New World, the European governments rightly expect that we will assure fair and honest treatment of their rights in this hemisphere. Partly to remove any excuse for European intervention on account of these little countries not paying their just debts, and partly to protect our own interests in the same little countries, we found it necessary steadily to bring them more closely under our supervision. One of the greatest of our recent problems has been whether our interest or duty should cause us to intervene in the much larger republic of Mexico. President Wilson believed that it was best to let Mexico " work out her own salvation," and events seem to show the wisdom of his policy.

Are there any reasons why Mexico should be treated differently from Haiti?

QUESTIONS

What is *impeachment?* Who may be impeached? Explain the method followed in impeachment proceedings? How may a Congressman be removed? a postmaster?

How does our Constitution define *treason?* What is provided in regard to its punishment?

Why should any constitution provide a way for its amendment? Should that way be easy or hard? What methods does the national Constitution offer? Is any change in the process of amendment desirable? How many amendments have been made? Explain briefly the nature of them. What other proposed amendments have received serious consideration? Are there any at the present time which you would like to see adopted?

Give examples to show that we have something like an "unwritten constitution" in this country. Is it best that these customs shall not be included in the written constitution?

Tell the circumstances under which our first territories were organized. Under whose authority are they governed? What territories do we have now? Describe their form of government.

Distinguish between a territory and a possession or colony. Name our colonial possessions and tell the method of government in operation in each. Why is the problem of Philippine government somewhat more difficult than that of the other possessions? Does "the Constitution follow the flag"?

How is the District of Columbia governed? Is this method wise and fair?

What is a protectorate? With what countries do we hold that relation and why? To what extent does the Monroe Doctrine bind us in our relation with New or Old World countries?

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson.

The Trial of Aaron Burr for Treason.

Resolved, that constitutional amendments should be adopted by majority vote of the people.

Hawaii, an Island Paradise.

Alaska: Its Needs and Possibilities.

What the Philippines Owe to the United States.

Resolved, that the United States should retain the Philippine Islands permanently.

Our West Indian Possessions.

The Story of the Panama Canal.

Resolved, that the Monroe Doctrine should be abandoned as a feature of our foreign policy.

CHAPTER XV

OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

We shall never war except for peace. — *McKinley.*
The world must be made safe for democracy. — *Wilson.*
The crest and crowning of all good,
Life's final star, is Brotherhood. — *Markham.*

140. Basis of International Relations. — The time has passed, if it ever existed, when a nation would be justified in trying to provide wholly for its own needs without having anything to do with other nations. Commerce, the spread of knowledge about other countries, a common interest in religion, learning, and the arts of civilization, have drawn all parts of the world more closely together than any two adjoining countries could have been in ancient or medieval times.

When questions came up from time to time in which two or more nations felt a common interest, and they wished either to settle a quarrel or prevent one, it came to be the custom to enter into a formal agreement, known as a *treaty*, by which each party agreed to do or not to do certain things. Other customs which might not happen to be written down in any treaty came to be observed regularly by states in their dealings with each other.

A Dutch jurist called Hugo Grotius published in 1625 a book which received surprising attention from the monarchs of his day, and which set forth clearly the principles which ought to guide states in their relations in both peace and war. From his day to ours the principles which he laid down

have been expanded and made clear by state papers of various kinds, peace conferences, and other methods, until we have a fairly definite system of principles which we call International Law.

International Law is defined by Professor Lawrence as "the rules which determine the conduct of the general body of civilized states in their dealings with one another." In one important respect it differs from other law — there is no sovereign authority to enforce it. It must depend upon the moral sentiment of the civilized world. In case a state deliberately disregards it, war may be the only means of compelling such a state to respect its rules. Notice that in this chapter we use the word "state" in its broad, general sense. It means an independent country, not one of the parts of our Union.

Could the United States supply all the needs of its people in peace or war?

141. Rights of States. — It is generally agreed that a state has a right to decide upon its own form of government and to manage its own internal affairs as long as it protects the life and property of the citizens of other states who have interests there. A state has jurisdiction over all the land and water within its boundaries, and over the waters for three miles from the coast. All persons and things within the borders of a state are subject to its jurisdiction, with the exception of foreign sovereigns or their representatives.

Why was the "three mile limit" agreed upon? If the rule were being made new to-day, do you think that distance would be adopted?

Pirates may be dealt with by any state that gets hold of them, but other criminals are not subject to punishment by a state where their crime was not committed. Most civilized nations now have extradition treaties in force, under which a runaway criminal will be returned for trial to the

country where the crime was committed, unless it was a "political" offense, such as taking part in rebellion.

142. Foreign Representatives. — In order to carry on negotiations with other governments and to look out for its own interests, modern states regularly send persons to reside in other countries and to represent them there. The foreign representatives of the United States are under the direction of the Department of State. They are classified as diplomatic representatives and consuls.

The diplomatic representatives include: (1) *Ambassadors.* These were once the personal representatives from the head of one government to the head of another, and are always recognized as of higher rank than any other. We send them now to 14 of the larger countries. An Englishman once defined an ambassador as "a person sent to lie abroad for the benefit of his country." Proficiency in that line is no longer considered essential, and that fact shows the change in the nature of diplomacy as compared with what it used to be. (2) *Envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary.* Their duties are about the same as those of ambassadors, the difference being chiefly one of rank. We send persons with this title to the civilized nations to whom we do not send ambassadors. (3) *Chargés d'affaires* and other minor officers. They do not at ordinary times exercise much responsibility, but may sometimes be entrusted with a special mission or occasionally be left in temporary charge of an embassy.

Consuls are stationed in important cities all over the globe. Their duties are: (1) to assist, in any proper way, American citizens who may come into their neighborhood, such as protecting them from harm, making out legal papers, or communicating with the home country; (2) to act as the business agents of the United States, keeping an eye on trade conditions, the prices of commodities, openings for American business, and the like.

Positions in the consular service as well as some in the

diplomatic service, are now generally filled through civil service examination. The salaries paid by the United States in either the diplomatic or consular service are not large, in comparison with those paid by other countries. Only a man with a private income will risk the drain on his pocketbook produced by residence in the great European capitals in the station of an ambassador.

A diplomatic representative takes the place of his sovereign, and therefore is not subject to the laws of the country where he is stationed, but to those of his own nation. To a less degree the same exemption applies to members of the minister's family and to his servants.

If, however, a minister so conducts himself as to be personally objectionable — "*persona non grata*" — the government to which he was sent may demand that he be recalled. Washington's request for the recall of the French minister Genet, and Wilson's of the Austrian ambassador Dumba, are notable instances of the exercise of this right. If the reason is merely a personal one, the other country has no right to take offense. Usually, in fact, a government will inquire before sending an ambassador whether a certain particular person will be acceptable.

The chauffeur of the British ambassador was once arrested by a local constable for speeding. What constitutional or international bearing would this case have?

143. Enforcement of Treaties and Obligations. — "In the eyes of international law treaties are made to be kept." And yet is there anything more to back up a treaty than is behind international law itself, if a state sees fit to violate it? Unfortunately there is not. The shock to the moral sense of many neutral nations caused by Germany's invasion of Belgium in 1914 shows how sacred the thought of a treaty is, in general; for Belgium's safety was supposed to be guaranteed by an international treaty. Yet there was nothing that could be done about it by a neutral except to

protest. No matter how wicked the act might appear, war was the only penalty that was available; for Germany did not ask the opinion of any other nation before entering Belgium.

Fortunately, treaty keeping is more common than treaty breaking, and a treaty that was honestly made in an effort to be fair to all concerned is seldom broken. A treaty which has ceased to be fair and reasonable may be annulled, if the state wishing to do so gives proper notice of its intentions.

Flags of Three Allies.
Great Britain, United States, France.

144. War. — The last resort in settling disputes is war — that is, it should be the last. It is justified only (1) in national self-defense to protect a nation's citizens or its territory or honor; (2) to secure necessary reparation for grievous wrongs; or (3) to avert a threatened injury or a crime against civilization.

The extreme "pacifist" of to-day would say that war is never justifiable. In one sense that is true, for war settles nothing except which party is the stronger, and may not even do that. But until all nations follow the Golden Rule in dealing with others some will have to choose between war and submission to wrong. Back of all government, even good government, is force.

It is the duty of a state which makes war to indicate its intention in some way, so that its own people and others who may be affected may suit their affairs to the threatened change in conditions. Often a formal declaration is issued; sometimes the recall of an ambassador from a foreign court and the dismissal of that state's representative from the home court is done under such circumstances as to amount to a declaration of war.

Is it humanly possible for a world without war to exist?

145. Effects of War on Persons and Things. — When war breaks out, all states automatically become either belligerents, taking part in it, or neutrals, remaining at peace and not assisting either side. All individuals, including those in the belligerent countries, are either combatants, who are connected directly with the fighting force, or noncombatants, who do not take part in or directly support

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U. S. S. Nevada.

This is one of our newest dreadnoughts. The use of oil and improved methods of firing boilers make good speed possible with very little smoke.

military operations. Surgeons, nurses, and chaplains, even though in an army, are treated as noncombatants.

All property is contraband or noncontraband. By contraband is meant that which is useful in carrying on military operations. Inventive genius has greatly increased the number of articles which can be of military use, with the result that commodities, such as rubber and cotton, which once would never have been thought to possess military value, have been included in the lists of contraband goods announced by governments recently.

A careful distinction must be drawn between the government of a neutral state and its citizens. Neutral private citizens have a right to continue relations and carry on trade with either party, even to the extent of selling them military supplies. If individual citizens leave a neutral country and enlist in the service of a belligerent, the neutral government will take no notice of it unless the movement

Small Canadian Custom House, Cardinal, Ontario.

The special duty of these soldiers was to guard a near-by canal from possible damage by German sympathizers. Nowhere on our whole Canadian frontier is there anything to suggest hostile relations between Canada and the United States.

becomes open and extensive; but persons who enlist in foreign service cannot demand protection from their own government while engaged abroad.

146. Arbitration. — The terrible conflict of 1914–18 impressed upon every thoughtful mind the feeling that some other way than war must be afforded to settle international disputes. Great Britain and the United States have settled more disputes peacefully than any other modern states, and

several of them were settled by arbitration. *Arbitration* means the calling upon impartial representatives of disinterested parties to decide or help to decide matters in controversy.

The international conferences which met at the Hague in 1899 and 1907 caused the establishment of a Court of Arbitration to which nations might refer cases in dispute. Its services were employed several times and its decisions were always accepted. In 1914, however, Austria refused to permit the reference to the Court of the situation which was made the excuse for starting the Great War.

147. The League of Nations. — President Wilson and the other leaders of the Peace Conference at Versailles in 1919 were convinced that some means of averting future wars must be sought if the world was to be safe. They succeeded in formulating a covenant for a League of Nations of which all well-disposed peoples might become members. This League has a *council* supposed to contain one representative each from nine nations, the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, and four others selected by the *assembly*. In this *assembly* each member state has from one to three delegates, but only one vote. The executive council is to choose a *secretary-general*, whose office is to be permanently maintained. A permanent *court of international justice* has been provided for. The seat of the League is at Geneva.

All international disputes which cannot be settled by the nations concerned must be submitted to arbitration. Nations which are unwilling to abide by the rules and decisions of the League are to be boycotted by the other nations, and the executive council of the League may in extreme cases arrange for a military and naval force to compel nations to conduct themselves properly. National armaments are to be reduced and the private manufacture of arms restricted as far as practicable. All treaties must be registered with the secretary-general and published by him.

Is this all a dream? Why need it be only a dream unless some nations want something else than justice and a square deal? Do you think that the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine by the United States is an aid or a hindrance to world peace? What problems are likely to cause the most difficulty for the League of Nations? Is there any reason why the United States should hesitate about participating in such a league?

QUESTIONS

Explain the conditions which make it impossible for a wise nation to live by itself. Define *treaty; international law.* How did international law originate? How great is the extent of a state's authority over persons and things?

What is the reason for sending representatives to foreign countries? Describe the three classes of diplomatic representatives. Name the present American ambassadors to the leading countries. Do you know the names of any of their representatives here? What rights does a diplomat have when in the country to which he is sent? Explain the duties of a consul. How is he chosen?

What guarantee is there that treaties will be kept if they are made? Is there any way short of war that will be available to compel the keeping of a treaty?

When if ever is war justifiable? How is it made known? What is its effect on persons and things? What duties are incumbent upon neutral governments and citizens? Review the causes of the wars in which the United States has taken part. Do you consider the attitude of our country justified in each case? Exactly what is meant by *arbitration?* Give some notable instances of its use. Have the Hague Peace Conferences been of any real value to the world? Explain the influences that brought about the proposal of the League of Nations.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Requirements and Duties of an Ambassador to a Great Nation.

International Law in the Great War.

The Relations of the United States to the Great War.

The Story of the Hague Peace Conferences.

Pirates.

The Red Cross Society.

The Peace Conference of 1919 and Its Accomplishments.

CHAPTER XVI

THE UNION AND THE STATES

Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.
— *Webster.*

148. Relation of the States to Each Other. — In a federal government like ours, some of the most delicate questions of policy and administration arise out of the relations of the parts of the Union to each other. It is clear that, to escape disagreement as much as possible, matters of this kind should be stated rather definitely in the national Constitution. Only by this means, too, can such uniformity and fairness be secured as will make the people in all parts of the country feel that they are treated alike.

The Constitution tells us that "full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state." This means that an act legally done in one state must be respected as a legal act by the other states, even though their own laws might differ on the point in question. A deed to property which has been recorded in a lawful manner in one state must be recognized by the courts of another state. A corporation which has received a charter in any state must be recognized by other states as having the right to carry on business as a corporation, even if it could not have received a charter anywhere else.

Would it be an advantage if corporations were chartered by the federal government? Would it be better if marriage and divorce laws were uniform throughout the country? Should such laws be easy or strict?

A citizen of one state is entitled to all the " privileges and immunities " of citizens of any other state while he may be within the borders of that other state. A citizen of New York staying for a while in Pennsylvania may claim all the privileges of a citizen of Pennsylvania, no more and no less. He has no right to violate a Pennsylvania law simply because an act he may want to perform would not

Boats on the Ohio River.

Smoke regulation is still in order.

be a crime in New York. It is understood that it is a person's duty to keep informed as to the laws of the place where he is, and not offer his ignorance as an excuse for a habit of law-breaking.

In spite of the many differences in detail between the laws of one state and the laws of another, the great mass of fundamental principles and customs are alike in all the states. When there is a difference, our attention is particularly called to it. We may forget the ninety per cent of features that

are common to all, in looking at a part of the ten per cent in which there is a difference. Nowhere is there so much difference that a person moving from one state to another would have any serious trouble in adjusting himself to his new surroundings, so far as government is concerned.

There is absolute freedom of trade between the states. *Intrastate* commerce, that is, commerce entirely within a state, may be regulated as that state sees fit. But when a journey or an exchange of goods or messages crosses the boundaries of a state, then it becomes *interstate* commerce and is subject to the control of Congress. No state is allowed to tax goods brought from another, except for the purpose of inspecting them. The need for anything of this kind is rare.

Prove that a very large part of present-day industry is subject to national regulation.

149. Fugitives from Justice. — The laws of a state are not in force beyond its own limits, but a criminal may not make use of this fact to escape punishment by fleeing from the state in which the crime was committed. Suppose, for example, a person who was accused of murder in Cincinnati went to Chicago after the crime was committed. The authorities in Cincinnati might lay a statement of the facts before the governor of Ohio. He would then send to the governor of Illinois a " requisition " asking that the accused person should be returned to Cincinnati, and in ordinary cases the governor of Illinois would instruct the Chicago police authorities to do this.

Many times an accused person, under such circumstances, knowing that he will have to go back anyway, agrees to go without making this proceeding necessary, but he can compel it to be done if he insists on his constitutional rights.

Occasionally a governor, for what he considers a good reason, will refuse to honor a requisition made by another governor. No punishment is provided for such a refusal, and in the rare cases when this happens the accused person

is safe, at least while that particular governor remains in office in the state where he has taken refuge.

If a criminal escapes to a foreign country, the process of getting him back is taken up by our State Department, as the individual states are not allowed to deal directly with a foreign country. With most of the countries of the world we have special "extradition" treaties covering cases of this kind.

150. National Supremacy and Obligation. — The Constitution of the United States and all laws and treaties made in accordance with it, shall be "the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby." So says the Constitution itself very plainly. If the two spheres of authority conflict, the state must give way, and recognize the higher authority of the nation.

So as to assure this recognition of the national authority, all public officers of the states as well as of the nation must take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States. Some people assert that there is a "twilight zone" in which it is hard to distinguish between the authority of the nation and of the state. But the ordinary person does not need to worry much about it. If he does wrong, it makes little difference whether he is punished by the state or the national government. If he does right, neither is likely to bother him.

Perhaps in return for the recognition of this supremacy, the national government undertakes certain obligations toward the states. It must guarantee them a republican form of government. It is very unlikely that any state will ever try to establish a monarchy or any other objectionable style of government; but if it should, the national government would be bound to prevent its continuance. The Supreme Court has ruled that the responsibility for deciding when a state has a republican form of government rests with Congress and not with the Court.

Further, the United States must protect every state from

invasion by an enemy, though the state is expected to take its own part also, if such an unhappy event should occur. Finally, if a state cannot by its own efforts maintain order and put down a riot or insurrection within its own limits, its governor, or its legislature, if that body is in session, may appeal to the federal authorities for help.

151. Distribution of the Powers of Government. — (1) *Forbidden powers.* We must notice that some powers are forbidden by our national Constitution to both the national government and the states.

There may be no *ex post facto* laws — that is, laws under which a person might be punished for doing an act which was not contrary to law at the time it was done. Of course a law may be passed declaring an act to be a crime which had not been considered so before, but it can apply only to occasions after the law was passed.

Neither may there be any *bill of attainder.* This is the name applied to an act of Parliament or similar body condemning a man to punishment without giving him a trial in court, and perhaps depriving his family also of some of their rights or privileges.

No title of nobility may be granted here, and no public officer may accept a present or office from a foreign government without the consent of Congress. A little thought will show why it seemed wholly dangerous and contrary to the spirit of free government to allow any of these things to be done.

Slavery is forbidden within our borders. All persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens and entitled to the equal protection of its laws. No one may be denied the power of voting because of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

When we put the first nine amendments to our national Constitution alongside the Bills of Rights in the state constitutions we have a rather formidable list of restrictions on the powers of our governments in relation to the privileges

of the people. As a matter of wisdom the provision is also added that no tax should be placed on goods exported from any state. Some countries make use of this kind of tax, but it was feared that such a tax might hinder the progress and prosperity of the country.

(2) *Concurrent powers.* Coming now to the long list of possible powers that still remain, there appears to be one set of powers which may be employed by either the federal or the state governments. This embraces vital privileges such as laying taxes and borrowing money, and others less often mentioned but still important, such as bankruptcy laws, acts regulating weights and measures, the trial of certain cases at law, and the like.

(3) *Federal powers.* Other powers are exercised by the federal government alone. We find here the making of treaties and alliances, the granting of letters of marque and reprisal, coining money, declaring war, or keeping an army or navy in time of peace. These are very clearly acts which if done at all can be safely permitted only to the central government.

In this section we must put three other powers which are forbidden to the states although not specially granted to the federal government. (1) The states may not "emit bills of credit" — in other words, issue paper money. (2) They may not make anything but gold and silver "a tender in payment of debts." That is, a state may not force a person to accept paper money in payment of an obligation. (3) The states may not "pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts," — that is, interfering with or preventing the performance of agreements already made.

Whether it was an oversight on the part of the makers of the Constitution that they did not impose these three restrictions on Congress too will never be known. As it is, Congress has done all three of these things and has been sustained by the courts in the act.

(4) *State powers.* The powers that are left are the powers

which the Tenth Amendment declares to be "reserved to the states respectively or to the people." The list of them would be almost endless. The care of the public health, education, regulation of local government, the care of the poor, the insane, and the sick, the granting of the right to vote, — these are only a few of the many matters which are controlled by the states. The national government investigates some of these matters, as we have already learned, and even, through its control of interstate commerce, touches some of them with real authority. But whatever the federal government does with them is incidental to the exercise of some other power. Only the states deal with them directly.

Yet one would be mistaken to think that the federal and state governments never work together or disregard each other's existence. Often they coöperate directly, as in handling a contagious disease. Sometimes the federal government leaves to the states the carrying out of its own laws, as when the districting of states for the election of representatives in Congress is left for the state legislatures. That this spirit of coöperation and harmony could be improved is very true. But even as it is, each makes use of the other's services. Neither can forget that there are states and that there is a federal constitution and government binding them all in one.

Would it be wiser to centralize more power in the federal government? Are there any advantages in our present system of distribution of powers?

152. Admission of States. — The admission of new states is in the hands of Congress. If the new state is to be made from land wholly or partly within the limits of one or more of the existing states, the legislatures of the states that are concerned must give their consent. Maine and West Virginia are the only states which have been so formed. But most of the other states of the present forty-eight were territories before they were states, and came into the Union only when Congress got ready to let them come. There is

no law requiring any particular population or area. When a state has once been admitted, it is on full political equality with the others, and there is no way of getting it out.

One would suppose, therefore, that Congress would be very careful about this matter. Sometimes it has been, but sometimes the desire to get more electoral votes or members of the Senate for the benefit of a political party has been the chief reason why a state was admitted much earlier than it should have been. Nevada, for example, had only 20,000 population when it was admitted, and even to-day you could put the people of six Nevadas in the one city of Pittsburgh.

The process most often followed in admitting a new state is the following. Congress passes an "enabling act" which authorizes the people of a territory to choose delegates to a convention for the purpose of drawing up a state constitution. This constitution is then submitted to the vote of the people of the territory. If it is accepted by them and is satisfactory to Congress, that body passes a resolution to that effect. The President then issues a proclamation announcing that a new state has come into the Union. The arrangement of stars in the flag is adjusted soon afterward to make room for the new one.

Sometimes Congress tries to insist on certain provisions which a state must comply with in order to be admitted. Oklahoma, for example, for the benefit of the Indians, was obliged to prohibit the liquor traffic for at least 21 years. Utah was kept out for many years until the rulers of the Mormon church were understood to have given a solemn pledge that the church had ceased the practice of polygamy.

When was your state admitted? How did it rank in population then and how does it now, in comparison with the other states? Compare it also in area, total and per capita. Bound it.

What direct benefits does the national government give to the business man? to the farmer? to you? What does the state government do for each of these? The local government?

QUESTIONS

Why is it essential that the relations of one state to another should be rather definitely marked out? To what extent must one state recognize the acts of another? What rights does the citizen of one state enjoy when he is in another state? Which are more numerous or evident, the likenesses or the differences between the laws of the states?

Describe the process followed when a person accused of crime goes outside the state where the crime was committed.

According to the national Constitution as you read it, to what extent does it demand recognition by the states? How far does your view agree or disagree with the theory advocated by Calhoun in the days before the Civil War? How far does it concern the national government or the other states what form of government any state establishes? How far is the national government responsible for law and order in a state?

Make an outline or a diagram that will show the powers forbidden to national and state governments alike, those forbidden to the states but exercised by the national government, those not granted to the national government but exercised by the states, and those exercised by both national and state governments. Define *bill of attainder, ex post facto law, bill of credit.*

How many states are there? Are any more in prospect? What are the constitutional requirements in regard to the admission of a new state? What customs commonly characterize the process? Do you think this matter has always been wisely handled? What general considerations would you suggest that should always be observed in this connection?

SPECIAL TOPICS

Extradition Treaties with Foreign Countries.
The Webster-Hayne Debate.
The Story of the American Flag.

CHAPTER XVII

OUR STATE GOVERNMENTS

The Constitution in all its provisions looks to an indestructible Union composed of indestructible states. — Chase.

153. The Original States. — We must not forget that some of our states are older than our present federal government. The thirteen colonies which in 1776 declared their independence from Great Britain already had well-organized governments of their own, and Vermont governed itself independently of any of them for several years. Connecticut and Rhode Island, indeed, used their colonial charters for state constitutions for many years after they broke away from Great Britain.

Every colony had a governor. Every colony had a legislature or assembly, although Pennsylvania and Georgia had only one house in it.[1] So in changing themselves from colonies to states they altered their form of government very little. In several states the change amounted to little more, as far as form went, than electing a governor instead of having him appointed by the king or by a proprietor.

154. State Constitutions. — After the Declaration of Independence was adopted, Congress advised the states to draw up whatever plan of government their special needs might call for. In the four years from 1776 to 1780 all of them, beginning with New Hampshire, and including Ver-

[1] Vermont had only one house in its state legislature until 1836.

mont, made state constitutions, except Connecticut and Rhode Island. Most of these states have changed their constitutions since then, several of them having had as many as four different ones. Massachusetts alone has never adopted an entirely new one, but in 1917 it elected a convention to revise its constitution of 1780.

In comparing the early state constitutions with those made in late years we notice a number of differences. The new ones are much longer. New Hampshire's constitution of 1776 had about 600 words; Oklahoma's of 1907 had 50,000. The early constitutions were often made by the state legislature; now a special convention usually is called to do that work and nothing else. The later constitutions are much easier to amend, and deal with a much wider range of subjects. States do not seem to feel as much reverence for their own constitutions as they do for the national Constitution, and are much more ready to change them.

State constitutions generally contain at least the following general divisions:

(1) A Bill of Rights. We must remember that the first ten amendments to the national constitution apply to the federal government only. If the people of a state are afraid that their state government will disregard their rights, they must protect themselves in their own constitution. It is unlikely that either the federal government or any state government would wilfully disregard the fundamental liberties of the people, but most of the states seem to think that "safety first" is a good motto to follow in this matter.

(2) An explanation of the frame of government of the state — its officers, the method of choosing them, and their duties.

(3) Various provisions relating to the administration of the state government and the powers it may exercise. The tendency is very noticeable in the recent constitutions to include a great many matters which very probably ought to be dealt with by laws. Constitutions do not limit their

provisions to the fundamental things as was formerly the custom.

(4) A "schedule," or statement of the conditions under which the constitution will go into effect.

Outline the constitution of your own state, observing how much space is given to each of these parts.

155. The Form of State Governments. — It is best to get a few facts about our own state thoroughly established. In doing that we shall get a general understanding of the

Minnesota State Capitol, St. Paul, Minnesota.

main features of state government, for the great majority do not differ much in general principle. We shall at this point mention only a few common facts, showing some of the notable likenesses and differences.

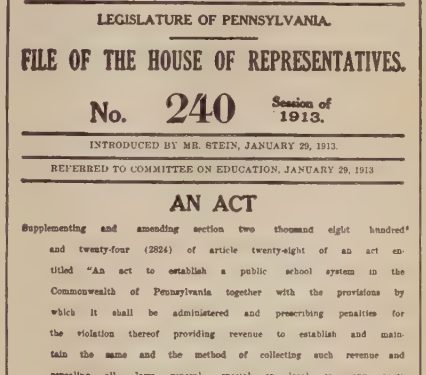
Name the capital of each state.

Every state has a legislature of two houses. In many states the official title of the lawmaking body is the *General Assembly*. Massachusetts and New Hampshire call it the *General Court*. The upper house is called the *Senate* and is much the smaller of the two. The lower house is called most often the *House of Representatives*, but some states use the

term *Assembly* for this body. The officers of the two houses and the process of lawmaking are so nearly like those of Congress that it will hardly pay us to study the differences except as we find them in our own state.

If possible, make a map of your state showing its division into legislative districts. At least be able to describe those in which you live.

There has been much criticism of the quality of the members of the average legislature. Much of this criticism, unfortunately, appears to be well founded. But who is to blame? The legislators are chosen by the people, and come from the people themselves. Generally the legislature will be just what the voters who take part in the elections wish them to be. Fault-finding is no remedy at all.



240—Printer's No. File Folio—1189

LEGISLATURE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

FILE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

No. 240 Session of 1913.

INTRODUCED BY MR. STEIN, JANUARY 29, 1913.

REFERRED TO COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, JANUARY 29, 1913

AN ACT

Supplementing and amending section two thousand eight hundred and twenty-four (2824) of article twenty-eight of an act entitled "An act to establish a public school system in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania together with the provisions by which it shall be administered and prescribing penalties for the violation thereof providing revenue to establish and maintain the same and the method of collecting such revenue and repealing all laws general special or local or any parts thereof that are or may be inconsistent therewith" approved the eighteenth day of May one thousand nine hundred and eleven by fixing and reducing the millage therein provided for the levy of a special tax in any school district of the first class assuming any bonded indebtedness of any former school district sub-school district or ward school district within its limits

Section 1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same* That section two thousand eight hundred and twenty-four (2824) of

First Printed Copy of a Bill.

This has been introduced and referred to a committee and is printed for the use of members and for public distribution. Notice the formal title and "enacting clause."

Find out what is meant by *lobbying* and *log-rolling*. A few states require that lobbyists must register with some legislative official. Do you approve the plan? Draw up a bill for introduction in your legislature. Hold a mock session for the discussion of the bills which the class presents.

In every state the chief executive officer is the *governor*. His term is either one, two, or four years. In most of the

states he has the veto power and other powers like those of the president in the national government. He appoints very many executive officers, with the approval of the state senate. Three fourths of the states have a *lieutenant-governor* to succeed to the office of governor in case a vacancy occurs. He generally presides over the state senate.

There are many other *executive officials* or *commissions* to deal with particular branches of the state's administrative work. They do not, however, form a cabinet as in the federal government, and the authority of the governor over them is usually very much less than that of the president over the national executive departments.

Do you believe in having a strong governor or one with little power?

Among these administrative officials appear the following:

The *Secretary of State* has charge of the official records and papers of the governor and legislature, and has numerous other duties which vary considerably from one state to another. In Massachusetts and Pennsylvania this officer is known as the Secretary of the Commonwealth.

The *Auditor, Auditor-General,* or *Comptroller,* must see that no money is spent from the state treasury unless it has been authorized by law, and sometimes has other duties connected with the state's finances.

Every state has a *Treasurer,* who is responsible for the actual care and expenditure of the money paid into the state treasury.

Almost all the states have an *Attorney-General,* who is the legal adviser of the state officials. He and his assistants also represent the state in legal cases in which the state is directly concerned.

Most of the states have also an *Adjutant-General,* with important duties in the state's National Guard; a *Superintendent of Education, Superintendent of Public Instruction,* or *Commissioner of Education;* and a *Commissioner of Insur-*

ance. Many of them have a *Commissioner of Agriculture* and a number of other officers whose names suggest their duties.

In some states these officials are appointed by the governor and in others they are elected by popular vote.

Every state has a *supreme court*, though not always known by that name. Every state has also a system of lower courts. Perhaps there is more difference in the organization of the judicial departments than in either of the others. The terms of the judges run from two years in Vermont to twenty-one years for supreme justice in Pennsylvania. The general powers of the courts are about the same in all the states.

156. Preliminary Proceedings in a Criminal Case. — It will be worth while to follow from beginning to end the steps connected with the trial of a case as it would usually be conducted in the lowest organized court in a state's judicial system. We will take as an example a case of burglary. As this is an outright violation of the laws of the state it is of course a crime.

Naturally the first step is to get the suspected person. The *arrest* may be made by an officer who sees a person committing a crime or finds him under suspicious circumstances; or it may be made after a *warrant* has been issued authorizing it. In the latter case a detective or some other person must have made a complaint telling why a person should be arrested.

Next the supposed burglar is taken before a police magistrate or alderman, if we are in a city, or before a justice of the peace, if we are in a smaller community. The justice conducts a *hearing*, to find what the charge is and why the arrest has been made. If he thinks the man may be guilty, he will hold him for trial in the proper court. If the man has friends who will go on his *bail*, he may go free till time for the trial. His friends agree to pay a certain sum of money in case he does not appear when the trial is called.

The district attorney presents to the *grand jury* the main features of the evidence against the accused person. This body is composed of voters of the county. Twenty-four of them are summoned by the jury commissioners and the sheriff. If all can attend, one is excused, so that there may be an uneven number. Twelve must agree on an indictment, even though as small a number as sixteen are qualified to act.[1] If the grand jury thinks that there is a chance of convicting the accused, they will "find a true bill," and draw

Sonoma County Court House, Santa Rosa, California.

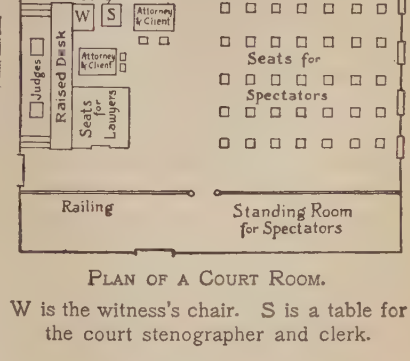
up an *indictment*, or formal charge, against him. If they believe there is no possibility of conviction, they will "ignore the bill," and the accused man will be released.

157. The Trial. — If the man is indicted, his case is set for trial before the court. When its turn arrives, a *petit jury* of twelve men is drawn from the whole number who have been summoned for jury service at the session of court then being held. The district attorney or his assistant acts as the lawyer for the "Commonwealth of Massachusetts" (for example) and brings witnesses to show that the defendant is guilty. The accused man's lawyer does the same

[1] In some states the grand jury does not have twenty-three members.

in his behalf. Each has the right to cross-examine the witnesses for the other side.

Each attorney sums up his case and tries to win the jury's favor in a closing speech. The judge then " charges " the jury, telling them the laws that apply to the case and mentioning the points of fact which they ought not to overlook in reaching their conclusions.



PLAN OF A COURT ROOM.

W is the witness's chair. S is a table for the court stenographer and clerk.

The jury then retire from the courtroom for deliberation. They must be all agreed if a verdict of " guilty " or " not guilty " is found. When an agreement is reached or it appears that no agreement can be reached, the jury will announce the fact to the court, and will then be discharged from consideration of that case.

If the *verdict* is " guilty " the judge will impose sentence. This varies, according to the offense, from a few days' imprisonment or a few dollars' fine to a heavy fine or a long term in the penitentiary, or both fine and imprisonment. In the case of willful murder the penalty is death or life imprisonment, depending on the law of the state where the crime is committed. In other crimes the judge is generally allowed some discretion concerning the amount of a fine or the length of a term of imprisonment.

If the jury says " not guilty," the accused is discharged and cannot be tried again for the same offense. If the jury disagrees, the case may be tried over again in the same court. If a convicted man's lawyer thinks he can convince the higher court that something was done improperly in the course of the trial, that the judge was mistaken in some

ruling, or that the law was incorrectly applied in some way, he may *appeal*, in the hope that the higher court may order a new trial. But if the higher court decides against him, the man must serve his sentence.

What kind of people are most suitable for jurors? Is that the kind that are commonly obtained in your neighborhood? How are they secured? Some details of the processes described in Sections 156 to 158 may be slightly different in your state. Note such differences, if they exist.

158. Proceedings in a Civil Suit. — The parties in a civil suit are the *plaintiff*, who brings the charges, and the *defendant*, who is sued. The plaintiff's lawyer files a complaint with the proper officer of the county court, giving the reason why he thinks the defendant has wronged him and ought to pay money "damages" because of this wrong. This official notifies the defendant. If he admits the truth of the charges, *judgment* will be entered against him at once. If he denies any obligation such as the plaintiff claims, his attorney will file an answer. The case will then be placed on the "docket" of the Court.

From this point on, the process of trial is very much like that of a criminal case. The plaintiff's attorney takes the place of the district attorney, and the jury is often called a "traverse jury." If the jury finds in favor of the plaintiff, the defendant will be compelled to make a money payment.

159. Measures to Prevent Wrong. — It is more desirable that wrong should be prevented than that it should be punished when committed. Courts not lower than the county courts have the right, with that thought in view, to issue orders which are intended to prevent the commission of a crime or act of disorder. The writ of *mandamus* is an order to a public officer, a person, or a corporation to attend to some duty which ought to be done but has been neglected.

Courts may also issue injunctions. An *injunction* orders a person or body of persons not to perform some act which appears to be dangerous or improper, or which may deprive

some one else of his rights. If it appears after a time that the proposed act will not do any harm, the injunction will be set aside, but while it is in force any disregard of it may be punished.

Each state has a *statute of limitations* which requires that, except in very serious matters, prosecutions must be brought within a certain time after an act has been committed. Sometimes this works so as to enable bad men to escape deserved punishment; but the idea underlying it is to relieve a man from endless worry of prosecution for an act which did not seem serious enough to demand attention at the time it was committed, or which occurred so long ago that to bring it up after years had passed would serve no other purpose than spite or revenge.

Does the amount of money a man has make any difference in his treatment by the courts? If you were being tried, would you rather have a judge or a jury decide whether you were guilty?

Study thoroughly the form of government of your own state. Learn the names and duties of its principal officers. Observe carefully the points of likeness and difference between your state and the national government, and between your state and the general statements we have made. Always try to keep up to date with any changes in officials or form of government.

QUESTIONS

Is the nation older than the states? How much change in the form of state governments was caused by the American Revolution? Compare the state constitutions made in Revolutionary times with those of later years.

What features appear in practically all state constitutions? Take the constitution of your own state and see how much space is taken up by each of these features.

Mention the respects in which the form of all state governments is alike. Give the main general facts about the legislative, the executive, and the judicial branches of the state government. From anything that you have read or have learned from other sources, do you think that the quality of men who conduct state governments is higher or lower than of those in the national govern-

ment? Who is to blame if either is below par? Should there be any difference?

Outline the steps that are taken in the process of bringing to trial a person accused of committing a crime. Make clear the difference between the grand jury and the petit jury. Describe the chief features in the conduct of the trial itself. What follows or may follow the announcement of the verdict?

Outline the preliminary proceedings in a civil suit. Wherein does the course of events differ from the trial of a criminal case?

Define *mandamus; injunction; statute of limitations.*

SPECIAL TOPICS

Constitution Making in Our State.

A Visit to a Trial in Court. (Let the whole class attend if possible. If not, try to have a few attend and then plan out a mock trial for the whole class. If you do this, be careful about the form of oath you administer to the witnesses. No one should ever, even in fun, agree to tell "the whole truth," etc., unless he does tell it.)

Most of the special work done in connection with this chapter had better concern itself directly with the government of the pupils' own state. An outline following the lines of our study of Congress can be worked out by the teacher and the class and the necessary facts obtained from the state constitution, legislative directories, handbooks, and the like, which practically all state governments issue. Try always to keep up to date with the names of important public officials, changes in important laws, etc., and be sure the pupils understand that state laws, customs, and officials are not as changeless as the "laws of the Medes and Persians."

Resolved, that the system of trial by jury should be replaced by trial by a permanent board of judges.

CHAPTER XVIII

LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

It is one signal merit of the peaceful and untrammeled way in which American institutions have grown up, the widest possible scope being allowed to individual and local preferences, that different states adopt different methods of attaining the great end at which all are aiming in common — good government. — Fiske.

160. Subdivisions of the State. — Every state is divided into regions known as counties.[1] These are often irregular in shape and they may differ considerably in area and population.

The reasons for creating counties are to make it easier to manage the business of the state, to hold courts and punish lawbreakers, and to give better attention to the local needs of the people. The legislature usually has power to make new counties, but some constitutions require a county to be of a certain size and to contain a certain number of people. Sometimes a popular vote is taken in a county where a division of it into two counties has been proposed, and the division is not made unless a majority of the voters favor it.

The same reasons which lead to the formation of counties also cause many states to subdivide the counties into *towns* or *townships*. When a community becomes more thickly settled, it may be given a more thoroughly organized government and called a *borough* or a *city*. In most states a city

[1] In Louisiana the divisions are called *parishes*.

continues to be a part of the county to which it previously belonged, although St. Louis, Missouri, Baltimore, Maryland, and several cities in Virginia have no connection with any county government.

Part of the states give very little importance to any smaller divisions than the county; in some of the states such divisions are called *precincts* or *hundreds*.

161. Systems of Local Government. — You have probably learned that when the early colonists came to New England there were many reasons why they kept rather close together in towns or villages. In the southern colonies the kind of farming carried on was such as to cause the people to spread widely over large areas, so that it was impossible for them to keep together in towns.

New England, therefore, produced a kind of local government where the town was the center of every interest, and when the New England states organized counties it was done as a mere matter of convenience for holding courts or some such purpose. In the South, on the contrary, the county government attended to every want of local communities, and town government of the New England type was unknown.

As we might expect, the middle Atlantic colonies found their needs to be partly like and partly unlike both New England and the South. They naturally produced a mixed system which had a place for both the township and the county. New York, being nearer to New England, made the town more important than did Pennsylvania.

These three systems, the town system, the county system, and the mixed or county-township system, are all in use to-day. When the New England people went west they took their ideas of government along with them; and so we find in states like Michigan or Wisconsin a form of local government with many features patterned on New England or New York. Pennsylvania's county-township system has been used as a pattern by such states west of her as Ohio, Indiana, and Kansas.

The pioneers who crossed the Alleghenies from Virginia and the Carolinas were used to the county system, and established it in the regions which they settled. The states which use the county system have smaller counties and more of them. Sometimes a state like Illinois, which was settled by people from both the northern and southern Atlantic states, has allowed a county to choose for itself whether or not it would be subdivided into townships.

162. County Administration. — In a large majority of the states the county is the most important subdivision of the state. Almost everywhere the administration of justice is based largely on the county. There is a courthouse in each county, which serves as a place to hold courts and to furnish headquarters for the county officers, and almost every county has a jail in which to keep criminals. Counties have the right to acquire property for these purposes and to put up such buildings as may seem desirable.

As the county courthouse is the "seat of justice" for the county, the place where it is located has come to be called the *county seat*. Usually a central location in the county is chosen for the courthouse. On that account we sometimes find to-day that the county seat is no longer the most important place in the county, because railroads or other industrial changes have given greater prominence to some less central place.

163. County Officers. — Just as in the organization of state governments, we shall find numerous differences in the officers of counties, if we pass from one state to another. In many states the most important county officials are called *county commissioners*. They have general oversight of the county business, fix the rate for the county tax, and in many cases are responsible for keeping up the highways. In New York, Michigan, and some other states, a *board of supervisors* composed of one member from each township in the county performs these duties. The *sheriff* is to keep order in the county. The *treasurer* handles the county

money. The *auditors* inspect the accounts of other county officers.

One or more officers keep the records of court proceedings. Another officer or two record the deeds, wills, or other legal papers that concern the ownership of property. The *district attorney*, or *state's attorney*, prosecutes persons accused of crime. Most counties have a *superintendent of*

ORANGE COUNTY COURTHOUSE.
Santa Ana, California.

schools, and in many states there are *directors of the poor* in each county.

We shall leave any detailed account of the duties of these and other county officers for you to learn as you study your own state.

164. The Town or Township. — The oldest and simplest of all forms of local government is the town or township. Here it is that government comes most closely in contact

with the people and here they can most directly have a part in it. Matters most vitally affecting their lives, such as the support of schools, the maintaining of roads, the collecting of taxes, and other affairs in which each particular locality has its own peculiar interest, are dealt with in large measure by the township government.

We remember, of course, that in speaking in this way we

OLD TOWN HALL AND CHURCH, ROCKINGHAM, VERMONT.

Regular services are no longer held here, but an annual "pilgrimage" is arranged every summer.

refer to those states which have the town or county-township system of local government. It is hard to state in general terms just how much of public business is handled by the township, or what is the relation of the township to the county.

Where the New England idea prevails, the county has little direct authority over the town, but in other states the township is thought of as simply a convenient division of

the county. In some states the legislature alone can form new townships. In others this is done through the county courts or other county officers.

When the public lands were surveyed in what are now our middle western or far western states, they were divided, in accordance with the laws of Congress, into "townships" six miles square, each containing 36 "sections." This was first done as a matter of convenience in mapping and selling or giving away the public land, but it proved to offer equal convenience in managing schools, roads, and the like, after people began to settle.

As a result, complete local governments were formed on the basis of the so-called Congressional township. The equal size and regular shape of such townships are in marked contrast with the angles and inequalities that you see when you look at a town map of a New England state.

165. The New England Town. — The word "town" in New England refers to a political organization rather than a group of people. It means somewhat the same as "township" in other states. A New England "town" may contain three or four villages within its limits.

The great distinguishing feature of the New England system of government is the *town meeting*. This is regularly held in the spring, though special meetings may be held at other times. All the voters have the right to attend the town meeting, elect town officers, and take part in discussions of town affairs. The town meetings act on almost every conceivable thing, from fixing the tax rate or putting up a new school building to selling a worn-out road scraper or appropriating money for band concerts.

Nothing exactly like this exists in any other part of the world, and no better training in democracy was ever afforded anywhere. Large communities cannot easily permit this freedom, but its simplicity and relative inexpensiveness make the people hesitate about giving it up. Brookline, a suburb of Boston, one of the richest communities in the world in

proportion to population, has 30,000 population, but is still a "town."

Town officers are very numerous, but are never paid high salaries. The most important are the *selectmen*. There are usually three of them. During the interval between town meetings they represent the town and act in its name whenever it may be necessary. The *assessors* or *listers* put a

Interior, Old Town Hall and Church, Rockingham, Vermont.

Observe the old-fashioned high pulpit. The date indicates when repairs were made.

valuation on all the taxable property in the town. The *constables* are the police officers. The *justices of the peace* perform various legal ceremonies and hold court in small cases. The *auditors*, *road commissioners*, *school directors*, and all the rest, down to the *fence viewers* and *pound keepers*, have duties of greater or less importance.

Short terms for officers prevail throughout New England, and one year is the extent of term for which most of the officials are elected. Where there are three of a kind, such

as selectmen, listers, or school directors, one may be chosen each year for a three-year term.

166. The Township in Other States. — The New York township has a *supervisor* whose duties are similar to those of the New England selectmen. Pennsylvania has *supervisors* whose chief interest is the care of the roads. Almost everywhere we find a treasurer, an assessor, auditors, justices of the peace, constables, overseers of the poor, a collector of taxes, and school directors.

The fundamental difference from the New England system is the absence of the town meeting. The voters of a township elect its officers but have no direct part in the conduct of township business. In this system of government no particular attempt is made to distinguish between legislative and executive powers. Several of the township officers may be called on to exercise both. A longer term than in New England for township officers is the rule in states which have the mixed system.

What form of town or township government do you like best? Do you think the New England system would work well in other states?

167. Boroughs and Incorporated Villages. — It often happens that within a township a community of some size will grow up. The people of this community may want better schools, paved streets, improved street lighting, or fire protection, which would be expensive if extended throughout the township. At the same time they may not have enough people to form a city government or care to assume the expense that often goes with it.

Some of the states have made special provision for this class of communities by organizing *boroughs* or *incorporated villages*. The method of formation varies with each state, but the approval of the majority of voters or property-owners is commonly required. In Pennsylvania and Minnesota a borough becomes wholly independent of the township of which it may have formed a part.

In some of the other states the borough or village may be organized to meet only certain special needs, such as street lighting, or fire protection, and for other purposes may continue as before to be simply a part of the township. This is the plan in such states as Connecticut and Vermont.

The borough or village elects a small body known as the *council* or *board of trustees*, who become the lawmakers for their government. The Pennsylvania borough has also a

A Macadamized Road.

chief executive known as the *chief burgess*. The other officers are about the same as in the township. The formation of this kind of government is often a step toward city government, but some communities wait a long time before they reach that condition.

168. Formation of Cities. — We have learned that a city is a community, for the most part thickly settled, which is governed under a charter giving it extensive powers for the administration of its own local affairs. The number of people required to form a city varies in different states.

Some states have no definite requirement, and may use the word for small communities as well as large ones. Others require a specified population, such as 10,000, for example. It is common for states to group their cities in classes, in accordance with their population.

The charter of the city corresponds to the constitution in the national or state government. In some states the legislature passes a special law for the purpose every time a city is chartered, but in others there are general laws which all cities of a certain size must abide by when they adopt city government.

MUNICIPAL BUILDING, SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS.

In most states the city is a part of the county to which it belongs, but its only real superior is, after all, the state government itself; for the legislature has power to alter completely the city's government. Many honest supporters of reform in city government advocate "home rule" for cities. They believe that each city should have the right to frame its own charter and work out the details of its government to suit its own needs.

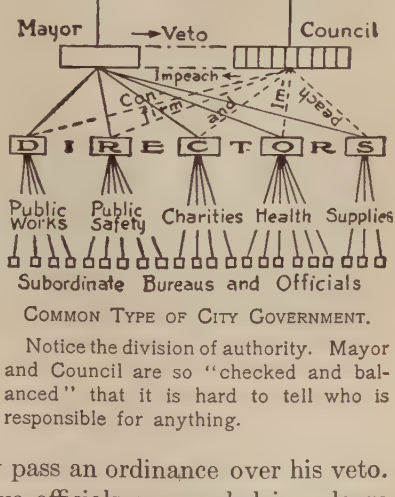
What is the law of your own state concerning the formation of cities?

169. City Officials. — Most cities have a *mayor*, who is the executive head of the city government. In addition to enforcing the ordinances of the city, he generally has the right to appoint many city officials, and to sign or veto all ordinances of the city councils. His salary varies from almost nothing in the smaller cities to $15,000 in New York.

The lawmaking part of the city government may be in

either one or two houses. If there is only one, it is called the *council*. If there are two bodies, the smaller is called the *aldermen* or *select council*, and the larger the *common council*. The term of office of both mayor and council varies with the city or state. It may be either one, two, or four years.

Whether power shall be divided evenly between mayor and council, so that one may serve as a check on the other, or whether almost all power of administration should be placed in the mayor's hands, so that he may be held responsible for the government of the city, is a question over which the practice of cities has not been uniform. The tendency of the present time is toward centralization of power in the mayor. It is the rule, however, that his appointments must be confirmed by the council, and that a two-thirds vote of the lawmaking branch may pass an ordinance over his veto.



COMMON TYPE OF CITY GOVERNMENT.

Notice the division of authority. Mayor and Council are so "checked and balanced" that it is hard to tell who is responsible for anything.

Very many administrative officials are needed in a large city, and these are commonly grouped into a few great departments. Every city must have, under some name or other, a department of *public works*, to look after highways, sewers, water supply, and the like; a department of *public safety*, controlling policemen, firemen, building inspectors, and similar officers; a department of *health;* and perhaps a department of *charities* and other departments to meet the peculiar needs of the city. A *treasurer*, a *controller*, a city *solicitor* or attorney, and others may also be found.

Every city has its *school board* or *board of education*, which in many states is allowed to manage its affairs independently of the other administrative departments.

In many states the judicial branch of the city government is relatively less important than the others, for most crimes and lawsuits will be taken up directly by the county courts or lowest grade of the state court system. But there are always police judges or magistrates who have authority over small cases, especially violations of city ordinances, and who give

Old Style Cobblestone Street.

hearings to persons accused of graver crimes, just as a justice of the peace does in the township.

Too often in the police courts justice is tempered with politics, and the magistrates may be men wholly without fitness for the duties they perform. No phase of the administration of "justice" is so unsatisfactory as this. It is not strange that the foreigner, who sees more of the police and the magistrate than of any other public officials, wonders if what he gets from them is the liberty he heard about before he came across the ocean to us.

If you live in a city, outline thoroughly its frame of government. How many of its officials are you personally acquainted with or do you know by sight? Why is the position of police magistrate so

commonly filled by unfit men? Find out if your father knew all the men for whom he voted in the last local election. What were the leading issues in that election?

170. City Problems. — The wonderful growth of cities has often taken place so suddenly and quietly that men have been surprised and shocked when some great problem seemed to burst upon them all at once. The packing together in small compass of thousands of people and millions of dollars

A Street Corner in Pasadena, California.

A pepper-tree is in the foreground. The men are taking moving pictures.

of wealth would alone give rise to many difficulties. Add to this the coming of millions of foreigners, ignorant of American life and ideals, most of whom herd in the cities, and the situation is tenfold worse.

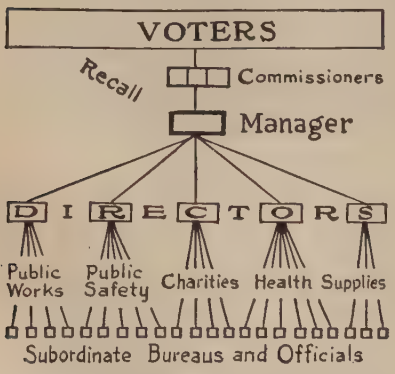
National political issues have attracted the attention of voters much more than local questions, except when the taxes rose beyond endurance. In some cities graft, bribery, and all the other evils of rotten politics have had their way almost without hindrance for years together.

"The government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States." So runs a familiar quotation from

the Hon. James Bryce. We have tried to govern them by the same means which we used for the agricultural districts in the old states, and found only too late that other methods were needed. We have borrowed money by the millions and spent it on public works constructed by contractors who "stood in" with the politicians who ran the city, and we have learned after it was all spent that we should have to pay interest on it for two or three generations.

Only as the best citizens are willing to sacrifice a little time and energy to help keep city government in the hands of honest and competent officials can we hope to find relief from these ills. Happily the situation seems brighter than ever now, and there is reason to hope that the worst of our cities' shame is past.

171. Special Plans of City Government. — Dissatisfied with the ordinary type of government, many cities have tried something new in the hope of getting more efficiency and honesty of administration. A plan which is now in operation in over 300 places in the country is called the *commission form* of government. A small body, often five in number, is elected by the voters as a commission who will exercise both the legislative and administrative functions.



THE CITY MANAGER PLAN.

Observe the simplicity of it and its centralization of responsibility.

The commission makes the ordinances needed for the city. Each member of it is the head of a department. One of them may be called the mayor, but his power is little greater than that of the others. The theory is that this small commission

will feel special responsibility for doing its work well, and by operating all branches of the government in harmony, waste and confusion will be almost wholly avoided.

In the *city manager* plan, which is much like the system in vogue in many well-governed European cities, centralization is carried still further. One man is chosen by the council or commission to assume entire charge of the administration of the city's affairs and he is given whatever power is necessary to enable him to get results. Dayton, Ohio, and a number of smaller places are governed in this way. Thus far it must be considered in the light of an experiment in this country, but it seems to have worked well almost everywhere that it has been tried. The state of Kansas has adopted a similar system for handling state public business.

QUESTIONS

What is a county? Why is it formed? Who forms it? What are the subdivisions of a county? (Be sure you understand how things are in your state.)

Distinguish the systems of local government which developed in colonial times. Which of these prevails in your state? How does their effect appear in other sections of the country? How and why did this come about?

How many counties in your state? Can you make any general statement about their size and form? Which are largest and smallest in area and population? How does your county compare with the rest? What is the county seat of your county? Why was that place chosen?

What are the duties of *county commissioners?* Of what is the county board composed under the New York plan? Name five other offices which are found in county governments almost everywhere.

What relation does the town or township government bear to its people? Explain the relation of the township to the other agencies of government? What is a *Congressional township?*

Define *town* as the word is used in New England. Describe the town meeting and show its political significance. Mention the principal town officers and state their chief duties.

Point out the differences between the middle states' township and

the New England town. Which form of local government do you like better?

Why are *boroughs* and *incorporated villages* formed? What is their connection with other governmental agencies? How are they governed?

What is a *city?* Explain its frame of government. What is meant by *home rule* for cities? Do you believe in it? Make an outline or diagram of the government of your own city. What are the duties of its chief officials?

Why have serious evils arisen in the conduct of city governments? How are these evils illustrated by the police courts and the public works? What is the best remedy for such conditions?

Describe the commission plan of city government; the city manager plan. What is your opinion of them? Would you like either of them in your own community better than what you have?

SPECIAL TOPICS

Most of the special work done in connection with this chapter should consist of a definite and thorough study of the pupil's own county and of the subdivision of it in which he lives. Let him make a good map of the county, showing its subdivisions. He should be familiar with its natural, industrial, and other special features. The particular type of county government which prevails in his state, the offices of his county government, and the persons who hold the important positions, should all be studied. Some one might sketch the history of the county.

In the study of the "Elements of Community Welfare" many of the local activities will have been taken up with all necessary thoroughness, and nothing further will remain except a connected outline of the machinery of local government and some comparison with other forms. The New England town meeting will repay some study, no matter what system may be locally in vogue. If you have the town meeting, by all means let the class conduct a session or two themselves and visit one if possible.

Resolved, that the city manager plan of government is the best yet suggested.

Resolved, that the New England town meeting system should be introduced in all townships of less than 5000 people.

PART IV

PROBLEMS OF NATIONAL SCOPE

A. Financial Problems

CHAPTER XIX

MONEY AND CREDIT

To secure the fullest development of the resources of the country and the freest interchange of commodities and services, an adequate supply of the media of exchange is essential. — Bogart.

172. Money and Its Uses. — If every person who had a sheep to dispose of and wanted to buy a chair had to hunt around till he found some one who had a chair to get rid of and wished to get a sheep, we should say that it was a nuisance of the worst kind. Yet once that was the only way to trade. We call it *barter* — exchanging one thing directly for another. It is easy to see that under such circumstances little trading would take place.

As soon as a community makes much progress toward civilization — and trade has very much to do with producing civilization — it must have some commodity which every one is willing to take in exchange for the things which he is willing to dispose of, knowing that with it he can get the things which he himself desires. A commodity which serves this need and acts as a medium of exchange is known as *money*.

Money helps also in other ways. We can compare the value of other things with the value of a certain piece of

money, and so have a way of expressing or measuring the value of any article of trade. If we make a trade to-day but do not receive or give pay for it until a later time, we can express the value of what is to be paid at a later time in terms of money. Money has, therefore, three important uses — as a medium of exchange, as a measure of value, and as a standard for deferred payments. Without it, modern business would be utterly impossible.

173. Characteristics of Money. — A commodity to be generally acceptable as money must have some value in itself. Possibly a nation which had no business dealings whatever with the outside world could print pieces of paper and say that every one must take these as money. But if it cares to trade with another nation, that nation wants something which it can use itself in exchange for the goods it sells. A second necessity is that it shall contain enough value in a small bulk to make it easy to carry around. Otherwise the inconvenience of using it would almost offset any advantages it possessed.

Again, it must not wear out quickly. Otherwise there would be no certainty that a piece of it would always retain the value it was supposed to have. Further, it must be readily distinguished from other commodities, so that it cannot be easily counterfeited. And it ought to be capable of division, so that various amounts can be represented by pieces of money. To put the thought in a few words, money should have value in itself, and should be portable, durable, recognizable, and divisible.

To find a commodity that will answer all these requirements is not easy. The strings of shells which the Indians called *wampum* might do for them and for people who traded only with them, but would not at all suit an advanced community. Salt has enough value among some savage tribes so that it has been used, but its durability is decidedly open to question. Long experience has shown that of all the commodities that have been tried gold and silver meet most nearly all the requirements.

Mention five commonly known commodities which would be suitable for use as money, and five which would not be, giving reasons.

In order to identify different amounts of it, governments stamp pieces of it with distinctive marks. Such pieces we call *coins*. Copper and nickel are used to help out for certain small amounts. Paper is also extensively used. This fact may seem to conflict with our statement that money must have value in itself. But if the paper can itself be exchanged for gold or silver, or has gold or silver held in reserve to make it good, it is as acceptable as the metal it represents. The great convenience of paper money makes its use very desirable if it is suitably protected.

174. Our Currency System. — Our decimal system of coinage was adopted in 1784 at the suggestion of Thomas Jefferson, and is the most convenient system for reckoning in existence. For many years there was a dispute over the question of monometallism or bimetallism. Should we use one metal alone as a standard, or try to keep both gold and silver as standard at a comparative value fixed by law?

Most people in the United States seemed for many years to prefer the double standard, but it was difficult to find a ratio which would always agree with the comparative value of gold and silver when used for other purposes than coinage. In 1900 the present law was passed which made the gold dollar the standard for our currency. 23.22 grains of gold constitute the standard weight of the dollar. To this is added other metal as alloy, enough to equal one tenth of the whole weight of the coin.

By a queer paradox the standard coin of our system is not coined at all. The gold dollar is a little too small for convenience. We have gold pieces in values of $2.50, $5, $10, and $20 — quarter-eagle, half-eagle, eagle, and double eagle. Silver dollars are no longer coined, either, but such an enormous number have been coined in the past that we do not need any more. Besides, they are awkward things to carry around.

We have silver pieces reckoned at 50, 25, and 10 cents. The nickels, which are four fifths copper, and the cents, which are mostly of bronze, complete our list of coins.

There are four mints at which coins are now made. The oldest is that at Philadelphia, and the others are at New Orleans, Denver, and San Francisco. Coins made at mints other than Philadelphia are marked with a little letter to distinguish the place.

Some people have a notion that the more money there is in circulation, the richer the people are. That is a big mistake. Instead, economists tell us that the greater the amount of money in circulation, the higher are prices of goods likely to be. If we have enough for convenience in actual purchases of goods and payment of wages, much more would be detrimental rather than helpful.

The report of the Secretary of the Treasury on October 1, 1920, announced that there were in circulation $387,016,649 in gold certificates, $123,125,065 in silver certificates, $337,388,247 in United States notes, $710,434,542 in national bank notes, $835,498,298 in gold, $394,547,503 in silver coin, and $3,508,112,856 in notes issued through the Federal Reserve system. That was equivalent to about $58.63 for every man, woman, and child in the United States.

If you did not have as much as that, where do you suppose it was?

175. Our Paper Money. — The paper money now in use is of five kinds. *Gold certificates* represent actual gold coin or bullion kept in the United States Treasury. *Silver certificates* represent silver coin in the Treasury.

The *United States notes* were once commonly called greenbacks. They were first issued during the Civil War. They were made *legal tender*, that is, any one must take them when they are offered in payment of a debt. They are nothing more than a promise on the part of the United States government to pay the sum mentioned on the face of the note. If people have confidence in the United States government,

they are as willing to take them as any other kind of money. To-day any one can exchange them for any other kind of money, and so we would just as soon have them as anything else. But that was not true during the Civil War and they depreciated greatly in comparison with gold.

National bank notes are a form of paper money issued by the national banks. *Federal reserve notes* and *federal reserve bank notes* are issued through the banks belonging to the federal reserve system (§ 181). They are backed up by bonds, notes, or other securities held by the banks.

Compare the different kinds of paper money, and notice the wording on them.

176. Meaning and Importance of Credit. — With all the convenience which money affords, it would be embarrassing for any business man to be obliged to carry with him everywhere he went the money which he might need to carry on his business. Large business transactions between one city and another would be almost impossible, if actual money had to change hands with every trade. Happily credit takes the place of money in ninety-five per cent of the business transactions of to-day. *Credit* is simply the giving or receiving of a promise to pay in place of actual money payment.

By the use of credit a merchant in San Francisco can trade freely with a merchant in New York or Yokohama. Much less money is needed than would otherwise be the case, and our stock of the precious metals can be used for many other purposes. Because credit exists, great business enterprises can be undertaken which could otherwise never be risked. Even governments themselves depend upon credit for the most of the financial operations which they themselves carry on. Every private enterprise too employs it. True, it is based on the existence of money, but money without credit might be even less useful than credit without money.

To what extent is credit used in the business with which your family is connected?

177. Credit Instruments.— The forms of legal papers which we use in giving or accepting credit we call credit instruments. Of these there are at least five kinds.

Some of the Big Business Houses of a Great City.

Two large department stores are in sight, as well as some costly office buildings. The stores do both a cash and a credit business in selling their goods, but it is evident that neither their buildings nor their business could exist if they had to pay actual money every time they made a contract or a purchase themselves.

The simplest form of credit is *book credit.* When a person gets goods at a store and says, " Charge it," he is making use of this form of credit. If the merchant thinks the purchaser will pay his bills in a reasonable time, he will take the promise implied in the words " Charge it," and record the sale on his books, with the understanding that the purchaser will pay at some future time, perhaps the first of the next month.

But often we want something more than a person's word. In that case we may ask for a *promissory note*. This may read about as follows:

$400. WASHINGTON, D.C., Dec. 23, 1916

Sixty days after date I promise to pay to the order of Theodore Wilson, Four Hundred Dollars, with interest at 6%. Value received.

WOODROW ROOSEVELT.

This is a definite written promise to pay at a specified time. Sometimes the place of payment is also mentioned. When the note is due, the man to whom it is owed, called the *payee*, may either collect it in person or turn it over to his bank, which will collect it from the bank where the man who drew the note does his banking business. Sometimes a note is cashed before it is due. In that case the bank deducts from the note the amount of interest from the time it is "discounted" until it falls due.

Another means of paying a debt without the use of money is by *check*. This is a written order directed to a bank where a person has money deposited, instructing it to pay a stated amount to a particular person or to his order. Like a promissory note a check is usually negotiable — that is, it can be signed — "endorsed" — by the person to whom it is made out and turned over to another party. Sooner or later it will be deposited in a bank by some one, and then returned to the bank on which it is drawn.

No. 9999 CLEVELAND, OHIO, Jan. 4, 1917

The First National Bank

Pay to the order of John D. Carnegie *$1542.78*

One Thousand Five Hundred and Forty-Two and $\frac{78}{100}$ Dollars

ANDREW ROCKEFELLER

A *draft* differs somewhat from a check in form, and may mention a specific time in the future when payment is to be made. Drafts are often made "on sight," also. The person who wishes to pay the money is understood to have a regular business account with the firm to whom the draft is directed.

$562.00 BOSTON, MASS., February 6, 1915

Ten days after date, pay to Peter Henderson & Co., or order, Five Hundred and Sixty-two Dollars, value received, and charge to my account.

HENRY CABOT LOWELL

To J. P. MORGAN & Co.,
NEW YORK

A *bill of exchange* is on the same principle as a draft. It is used particularly in trade with foreign countries, and is frequently made out in terms of foreign money. A person, for instance, wishing to make a payment to some one in London might buy a bill of exchange for the amount he wished to pay from a New York banking firm which has some London firm as its regular financial correspondent. The buyer can then send the bill to his creditor in London, who will present it to the London firm and get his money.

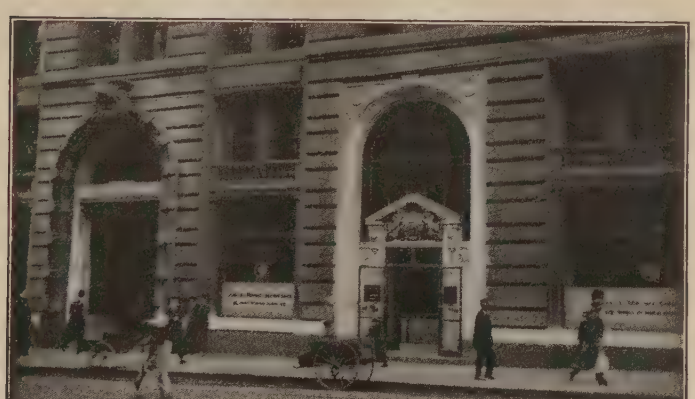
Find the meaning of "two name paper," "call notes," "short term" and "long term" paper. What is a *trade acceptance?*

178. Banks and Their Services. — In speaking of credit instruments we have mentioned banks. They have acquired a position in the financial world of to-day so important that upon the soundness of a country's banking system depends in great measure its business prosperity. A *bank* is usually formed by a group of people who organize as an association to receive and lend money and to facilitate the use of the credit instruments which we have described.

Banks which have been formed under the supervision of the national government, which own some of its bonds, and are inspected at irregular intervals by its agents, are called

national banks. They have had the privilege also of issuing bank notes, based on the value of the national government bonds that they own, which have formed one of our common kinds of paper money.

Many private companies, commonly called *trust companies*, do a similar kind of business, and in addition make a special point of investing money or caring for the property of other persons. Congress has put such a high tax on bank notes



ENTRANCES TO A LARGE BANK.

The oldest and surest kind of street cleaning is going on in front of it.

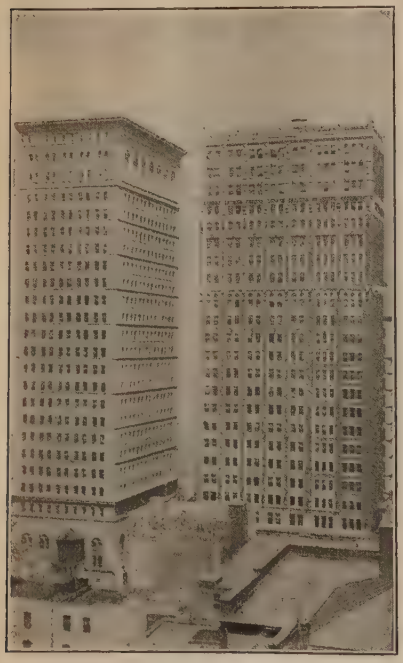
issued by any other than national banks that all the profit which might come from the use of such notes is removed and these banks do not issue them.

In addition to receiving and lending money, banks may lend their credit. If a person borrows $2000 from a bank, it may simply credit him on its books with that sum and let him draw checks against it. Meanwhile it charges him interest on the $2000 which he has borrowed, though it may not have actually handed him a cent in real money.

In receiving deposits from individuals, banks render a distinct service, for in this way funds are brought together which might separately be too small to be of much use in the indus-

trial world, but after being collected can be invested by the bank profitably.

Many banks maintain a savings department apart from the accounts against which checks can be drawn. They pay a larger interest to the depositor on savings accounts than on checking accounts, for the latter are chiefly conducted as a convenience in business and perhaps no interest at all is paid except on large sums. Banks render a service, too, in discounting notes and drafts when some one wants cash for them before they are due.



BANK AND OFFICE BUILDINGS.
Farmers' Bank and First-Second National Bank, Pittsburgh.

179. The Clearing-house. — To require every bank to maintain separate accounts with every other bank would mean endless confusion and trouble. To let accounts run for a long period without settlement would be dangerous, and to settle with each bank directly every day would be physically impossible. A bank in one community therefore usually arranges with a particular bank in another community to act as its agent there, and carries on its financial business with that section through that bank.

In every large city there is also an organization called the *clearing house*. Here are gathered each business day the

returns from each banking institution in the city. Checks and drafts received by one bank upon another are turned over to the proper institution and everything is straightened out very simply and easily.

The clearing house also helps each banking institution to keep in touch with the general course of financial matters in the community. Sometimes the clearing house, as represent-

Courtesy of Am. Tel. & Tel. Co.

BROAD STREET, PHILADELPHIA, TO-DAY.
An important business center.

ing the banking interests of the whole city, will give help at a time of special stress to a bank which is really sound and honest but which has by some misfortune fallen into a little difficulty. By saving such a bank from closing its doors it may have served notably the financial welfare of the entire community as well as one particular institution.

180. Dangers in the Use of Credit. — The use of credit brings some dangers against which we must guard. The ease with which credit can be employed to draw interest without

risking actual cash, and the profit derived in that way, may lead to carrying it too far. No bank attempts to keep on hand more than fifteen per cent to twenty-five per cent of the amount of money which has been deposited with it, for it is seldom that any large part of those deposits would be called for at any one time.

But if too many credit loans have been made and the amount cannot be collected on short notice, a bank may have to close its doors until its affairs can be straightened out. Such an occurrence is always embarrassing even if the bank is really solvent. Extravagance, speculation in the rise and fall of stocks, stock watering, and other features of what is sometimes called " high finance " are the outcome of a wrong use of a most valuable feature of modern finance.

181. The Federal Banking System. — The national banking system which is in operation to-day was founded during the Civil War in order to create an additional market for the bonds issued by the government and to add a new, acceptable kind of paper currency. For, as we have explained, each national bank was required to own government bonds and could issue bank notes with the bonds to back them.

For many years after 1863 there was little system about our national banks. Several financial panics showed that something was out of joint. After years of study of our banking system, the measure now in force, known as the Glass-Owen act, was passed by Congress in 1913.

Every national bank in the country is *required* to join the federal reserve system established by the law, and banks chartered under state laws are *permitted* to join. The country is divided into twelve reserve districts, and in an important city of each district a federal reserve bank is established.

In which district are you? Where is your reserve bank located? If you can get the information, make a map showing the division of the country into reserve districts.

A reserve bank does not deal with individual depositors, but with the banks that belong to that district. It discounts

notes and the like for them, and on the basis of the notes which they deposit with it the reserve bank provides them with federal reserve notes to use as currency. These are expected soon to take the place of the national bank notes issued by the separate banks.

The reserve bank in each district is managed by a board of nine directors, three of whom are chosen by the Federal Reserve Board and six by the banks in the district. The Federal Reserve Board supervises the whole system. It has seven members, including the Secretary of the Treasury, the Comptroller of the Currency, and five other persons appointed by the President.

The system has worked well during the trying period since it was established. Its friends say it will prevent any more financial panics. The reserve board in each district can so adjust matters as to relieve its own banks when any one of them needs help of any kind, and the Federal Reserve Board can make any adjustments that are called for between one district and another. The centralized control which was sadly needed is now supplied, and as far as can be seen every conceivable emergency has been provided for.

QUESTIONS

Explain *barter*. What are its disadvantages? What is *money?* For what is it used? What characteristics should a commodity have in order to make it useful as money? What coins do we now have in circulation? What other United States coins did you ever see? Where are our coins made?

What forms of money does our government now issue? How do they compare with each other in amount? Explain the kinds of paper money. What makes people willing to accept them?

When is money a hindrance to business? Describe the substitute which is commonly used, explaining its advantages. Write four forms of credit instruments. Explain the difference between them. Define *discount, endorsement, bill of exchange.*

Why is a bank organized and what services does it render? Explain the lending of credit. How differently is a savings account

handled by a bank from its checking accounts? Where do the profits of a bank come from? What is the value of the clearing house? Mention some of the dangers of operation against which a bank must guard. Could a bank do business without the extensive use of credit? What is meant by "high finance"?

How did our present national banking system come into existence? Describe the important changes in the system introduced. Outline the organization of the Federal Reserve system.

SPECIAL TOPICS

Our Mints and Their Operation.
The Organization and Officers of a Bank.
The Clearing House.
The Federal Reserve Board: Its Members and Their Work.

CHAPTER XX

SOME IMPORTANT COMMERCIAL TERMS

The richer any man gets by honest methods in productive industry, the richer does he make his neighbors. — J. A. Puffer.

182. Property and Its Ownership. — Among the fundamental rights of citizenship we have mentioned that of private property. We commonly divide all property into two classes — real and personal. *Real property*, often spoken of as real estate, includes everything that is fixed and permanent in its character. Land, for example, is real property. So, usually, is anything built upon the land or growing on it at any particular time. *Personal property* includes all that is movable and may with reasonable ease be carried around with a person wherever he goes. Money, cattle, and household furniture are examples of personal property. So are stocks and bonds.

Stocks are issued by corporations to those who invest money in their business. The stockholders are entitled to share in the management of the corporation, and in its profits, if there are any. Usually a stockholder in a corporation has one vote for each share of stock that he owns.

Bonds are promises to pay, much like a promissory note. They usually are arranged to run for a fixed length of time, with interest payable annually, semi-annually, or quarterly. They form a definite obligation against the company or government which issues them, and interest on them must be paid when due if credit is to be maintained.

Stocks are often of two kinds. *Preferred stock* carries a fixed rate of interest, which must be paid out of the profits of the business before any other payments are made. *Common stock* receives whatever is left after the preferred stock has been attended to. If the business is very profitable the income on common stock may be greater than on preferred, but it is likely to vary from year to year according to the prosperity of the business.

What is meant by this: "D. L. & W. sold at 240, B. & M. at 60"? How is this possible? What is a stock exchange?

183. Ways of Acquiring Property. — "Possession is nine points of the law," says a familiar proverb. Perhaps, but possession and ownership are not the same thing. Unless something is known to the contrary, possession of personal property is considered evidence of ownership, but even this class of property may sometimes be held and used subject to certain conditions.

A man may have the right to use certain property in his own lifetime only, or he may lease or rent it for a definite period. A person does not have full ownership of property unless it is his to dispose of as he sees fit and to pass on to his heirs at his death. The three common ways of transferring ownership are by inheritance, gift, and sale.

A property owner may at any time in his life make a written statement of the way he desires his property to be distributed at his death. This statement, known as a *will*, must be signed in the presence of witnesses, and should provide for the appointment of some one as an *executor* to carry out the terms of the will. A new will may be made at any time to revoke one previously made, or a change may be made in the original by adding a *codicil* to it.

It is understood that the making of a will is one's own free act. If it can be shown that the maker was not of sound mind or was subject to unfair pressure from some one else the courts may set the will aside. If a deceased person has

left no will, the nearest relatives inherit. In that case the court appoints an *administrator* to settle the estate according to law.

In your state what name is used for the court or official to whom wills are presented? Find out the customary procedure.

A second method of transferring title to property is by *gift*. The law does not care particularly what is the motive for the gift, so long as it is not made to cover up the commission of a crime or to avoid the payment of just debts. A gift may be made conditionally — that is, if the recipient does not perform certain required acts, the property comes back to the former owner.

The most common method of transferring ownership is by *sale*. In this case something else of value must be given in return. As soon as the price is paid or other definite arrangements for the transfer are completed, the property passes from the control of the seller to that of the buyer.

When the title to real property is transferred, a paper is drawn up which is called a *deed*. This states the fact of the transfer, mentions the money or " other valuable consideration " involved, describes the property which is transferred, and is signed by all parties who are directly concerned. Deeds, wills, and any such papers of importance are filed with the proper public official, so that they may be on record for later times.

One can of course transfer no more than he possesses. If his title to a piece of property is complete he may give a *warranty* deed, but if he is only part owner he can give only a *quitclaim* deed, which gives up whatever title the seller actually possessed.

Where would you go in your community to find out about the ownership or valuation of a piece of land in which you were interested?

The *Torrens land title system*, under which the government determines and guarantees the title to land within its jurisdiction,

is in vogue in some places. What arguments, for or against it, occur to you?

184. Mortgages. — Even when the title is transferred, the new owner may not own the property in full. If the buyer is not able to pay the entire purchase price, or does not care to do so, the former owner may retain a claim on a part of the property, expecting the remainder of the payment to be made

County Recorder's Office, Santa Ana, California.

Not many public offices are so attractively decorated, but the general arrangement of this one is typical.

later, with interest. Such a claim is known as a *mortgage*. If the amount due is paid when it should be, the mortgage is cancelled. If it is not paid, the holder of the mortgage may "foreclose." That is, he may cause the property to be sold and keep enough from the proceeds to satisfy his claim.

Frequently property owners who wish to get ready money for some purpose will give a mortgage on their property as security for the repayment of the amount which they borrow. Many sales of real or personal property are

made on the installment plan. The buyers pay part of the price every week or month or quarter, for example, and do not become full owners until the whole cost is paid.

See if you can learn the difference between a "first mortgage" and a "second mortgage." Who are "loan sharks"? Should they be permitted to do business?

185. Contracts. — A *contract* is a definite agreement between two or more persons to do or not to do some particular thing. The term is applied to many different transactions. Hardly anything is done in the business world that is not connected with the making or carrying out of a contract, express or implied. Deeds and mortgages are contracts. When a person is engaged to work for another an implied contract to pay him is understood. A postal money order is an implied contract to pay the amount mentioned. Without the power of making contracts and the assurance that contracts would be kept, modern business would be impossible.

So important is the certainty that a contract will be executed that the national Constitution specifically forbids the states to pass any law "impairing the obligation of a contract." The Supreme Court has interpreted this word very broadly, too. In the famous Dartmouth College case it declared that the charter of a college is a contract. In the case of Fletcher *vs.* Peck it declared that land grants by a state legislature are contracts.

A contract cannot be enforced, however, if either of the parties is not legally entitled to make a contract. A person under twenty-one is considered by the law as a "minor" or "infant," and cannot lawfully make a contract, except for the necessaries of life.

Bankruptcy laws perhaps come the nearest of any laws to "impairing the obligation of a contract." A *bankrupt* is a person who has been legally declared unable to pay his debts. The national Constitution gives Congress the power to pass uniform bankruptcy laws, but that power was not in

use except for two brief periods until the present law was passed in 1898. Meanwhile each state made its own laws to cover the matter.

A person who wishes to take advantage of the bankruptcy law must turn over all his property, with some few exemptions, and allow it to be applied to the payment of as large a part of his debts as it will meet. Then he will be allowed to start business anew.

An honest man will feel bound to pay his old debts in full as soon as he is able to do so. Men have been known to abuse the privilege by going into bankruptcy when it was not necessary, and have even made money by doing so. But the object of the law is simply to give a new start to a person who has been unfortunate in business and is so hopelessly tied up that a new deal will be welcome to his creditors as well as himself.

QUESTIONS

Explain the two kinds of property. Define *bonds*, *stocks*, *common stock*, *preferred stock*. By what means may property be acquired? How is property disposed of at the death of the owner? What is a *deed?* What two kinds of deeds are there? What reasons move people to give mortgages on their property? Do you think a mortgage is a good form of investment for the one who holds it?

What is a *contract?* What does the national Constitution say about contracts? Can *you* make a contract? Define *bankruptcy*. Is any moral principle involved in taking advantage of bankruptcy laws?

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Legal Standing of a Person under Age in regard to Property and Contracts.

Resolved, that a first mortgage in real estate is the safest kind of investment.

CHAPTER XXI

HOW OUR GOVERNMENTS GET MONEY

The subjects of every state ought to contribute to the support of the government as nearly as possible in proportion to their several abilities. — Smith.

186. What is a Good Tax? — One of the easiest ways to make an American protest is to levy a new tax. In Revolutionary days our ancestors acquired the habit of objecting to taxes and this habit seems to have stayed with us, whether the taxation is with or without representation. Yet in a sense this is not surprising. The right to have private property is one of the fundamental rights of an American citizen. A tax is nothing else than taking a part of one's private property and using it for public purposes.

But the government does not take it without giving something in return. Even when it exercises the legal right known as *eminent domain*, the " condemned " property must be paid for at a price which is considered by a jury or board of viewers to be fair and reasonable. So it is with taxes. The government gives protection to every person's life and possessions. It is only fair that those who are protected should give something to the state in return.

What should be the principle on which taxes are levied? At first thought we might say, " In accordance with the benefits received from the government." But when you come to think of it, a great many people with almost no property at all receive countless benefits from the state. While this principle should not be disregarded, it is evident that it will not meet the needs of the state. Regularly, then,

a person's ability to pay is made the basis of consideration. The person with large wealth will not miss the comparatively small sum taken as taxes. Besides, the more property he has, the more the government must protect.

Certain other conditions every taxpayer, rich or poor, has a right to ask. The money received should be used for the benefit of all, not for a favored few. No distinction should be made between individuals, but all persons or property in the same class or condition should be taxed alike. The tax should be levied in a public way and the time and manner of assessing and collecting it should be known to everybody. It should be easy to collect and should cause no unnecessary inconvenience in payment.

If taxes are based on these principles, a citizen is indeed unpatriotic who tries to avoid paying his fair share to support the government which does so much for him and which cannot be maintained without his help and his money.

Can you judge the progressiveness and sound management of a community by the amount of its tax rate?

187. Tax Definitions. — We commonly divide all taxes into two great groups — direct and indirect. *Direct* taxes are those whose burden is intended to be borne by the person from whom they are collected and not to be shifted to some one else. Taxes on buildings, land, incomes, inheritances, and the like, are direct. Most of the taxes levied by city, town, or county governments are of this kind.

Indirect taxes are those whose burden is likely to be borne by other persons than those from whom the government collects them. A tax on imported goods, for example, is really paid by the person who uses them, for the importer adds the tax to the price he charges for them, and it does not come out of his pocket. The taxes levied by the national government are largely indirect. This kind of tax is usually more popular than the other, for people pay it without knowing it.

After all, it is the community as a whole that pays every tax. High taxes mean high rents, high prices for goods, and other expedients for getting the money out of the public. Our main problem, therefore, is to invent a tax system which shall make every one pay his fair share. The exact form of the tax is not so important.

When a tax is collected on a fixed percentage basis, regardless of the total value of the property, it is called a *proportional* tax. If the percentage rate increases in accordance with the value of the property, it is a *progressive* or *graduated* tax. Those who lay great stress on the idea that a tax should be in proportion to one's ability to pay believe strongly in the progressive tax.

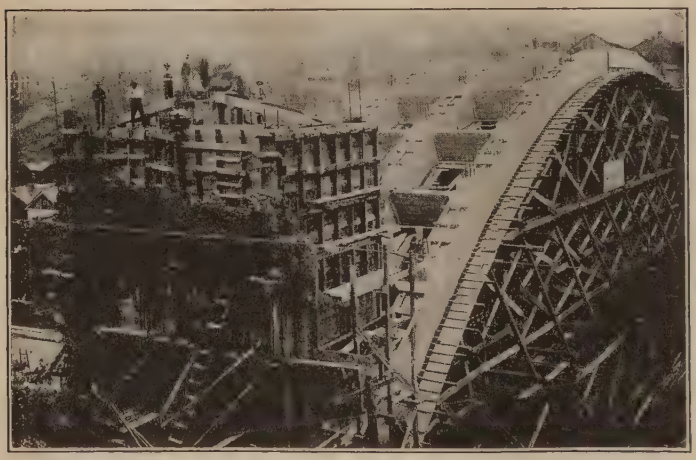
Excises are taxes on goods produced or sold within a country. They are often called internal revenue. The taxes on manufacturers or dealers in liquor and tobacco are examples of these. *Customs*, *duties*, or *imposts*, as we use the terms, are taxes on goods brought into the country. These are of two forms: *specific* duties, which lay a definite amount per unit of goods, as 10 cents per yard, dozen, or pound; and *ad valorem*, which collect a percentage of the value of the goods. In one way the latter are fairer, but the former are easier to collect and cheating is not so easy when they are used.

188. The Cost of Government. — Three great services which governments perform, and which justify the collection of taxes, may be called protective, industrial, and social. Their protective functions include the defense of the nation against foreign enemies, and the suppression of disorder and the safeguarding of life and property within their borders. The first of these must be done almost wholly by the national government; the other is distributed among national, state, and local governments.

Industrial functions include the encouragement of industry and the promotion of proper conditions in its operation; the construction of roads, canals, bridges, and the improvement

of rivers and harbors; and the supervision of the relations of industrial workers to each other. Since the Constitution gives the national government entire control of interstate and foreign commerce, a considerable part of these functions must be performed by the national government, but a very great deal remains for the states, as well as much for cities and counties.

The social functions relate to the relief and improvement of the people. The care of the poor, the sick, the insane, and



An Arch Bridge under Construction.

the unfortunate, the prevention of poverty and disease, the education of all the people, the maintenance of libraries and museums, and the promotion of learning in any form, are embraced within this group. Comparatively little of this can be done by the national government as our Constitution now stands. The great bulk of it rests upon the local communities, with more or less assistance from the states.

It has been estimated that of all the money spent for the administration of government in the United States the national government spends a little over one third, the state

governments about one tenth, and the various local governments the rest — nearly three fifths. The fact that the debt of New York City alone was in 1916 greater than that of the national government may bring out the extent to which the expense of administration of affairs rests upon the cities.

189. Government Revenues. — To meet these expenses three general sources of income may be drawn upon.

(1) *Sale and gift.* The sale of public lands has been a source of more revenue than it is ever likely to be again. The income from public industries like the post office and water works might help a little, but these seldom make much profit. Gifts from public-spirited citizens are made occasionally, but it is clear that neither this nor the other sources of revenue mentioned in this group can be depended upon very extensively.

(2) *Taxes.* Taxes of one form or another must always be the main source of income. Other forced payments by citizens are fees for licenses and other special services, special assessments for special work, and fines for violations of law. These are of course variable in amount, but they can be estimated to some extent.

(3) *Loans.* Borrowing money is an expedient for any except a hopelessly bankrupt government. It is too often a refuge from incompetent and dishonest management of government, and a cowardly shifting to others of burdens which ought to be met at once. The payment of interest over a long period of years will much more than eat up the original cost, and such a method is justified only when a sudden emergency has arisen or when an improvement is undertaken which will be of positive benefit to the people for years to come. Every national government in the world has a debt, as have also most of the states and cities of the United States.

190. National Finances. — Our national government before we entered the Great War was spending over one billion dollars a year. What a staggering figure that would have

seemed to the people of Alexander Hamilton's day, who recognized that he rendered a tremendous public service in arranging for the settlement of a public debt of $54,000,000! Over $300,000,000 is spent by the post office department, which for the last few years has a little more than paid for itself. Nearly $160,000,000 goes for pensions. Considerably over $200,000,000 goes to meet the salaries of officers, the construction of public works and buildings, and other costs of administration. The care of the Indians and the interest on the debt take somewhat less than $25,000,000 apiece.

The rest goes for military and naval expenses. The saddening lesson of the Great War has convinced thoughtful people of the folly of supposing that armies and navies prevent war. They are an awful burden, and can be excused only on the ground of sheer necessity. Yet until all nations will stop this thing, no single nation will feel safe to do it.

Explain the term "pork barrel" in connection with governmental expenditures. The figures given above were for the year before we entered the Great War. Compare them with any later figures you can obtain.

Until the Civil War the leading source of revenue was the income from duties on imports, but during that war a very extensive internal revenue system was established which has been abandoned only in part. It is now by far the greatest source of revenue. Manufacturers and dealers in liquors, tobacco, cigarettes, oleomargarine and renovated butter, and other commodities, have to contribute to this revenue.

Taxes on the income of corporations and of indidivuals are another source of revenue. The acts of 1916 and later years provided a considerable number of special taxes and a new system of taxes on inheritances. Duties on imports bring in a considerable portion of the revenue, though not so large a part as formerly. The demands of the war caused the enactment of an extensive series of new taxes, many of which were of a temporary character and were meant to be

abandoned when the emergency which required them had passed.

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U. S. S. MISSOURI IN THE PANAMA CANAL.
This was the first large vessel to pass through the canal.

No extensive borrowing was done for years except for the expenses of the Spanish War and the construction of the

Panama Canal. But our activities in connection with the European War caused an enormous increase in our expenses. To meet these and to make loans to our allies, "Liberty Bonds" to the amount of over $16,000,000,000 were sold to our own people, besides an additional "Victory Loan" of $4,500,000,000 after the fighting was over.

Do these sources of revenue reach all the states in equal proportion?

191. State and Local Finance. — We have stated (§ 188) the principal objects of expense for state and local governments. To meet these expenses the main resource has been the general property tax. The attempt has been made to reach all kinds of property, real and personal, without distinguishing the uses to which it is put or the income derived from it.

This does not always work fairly. The rate of assessment may not be the same between one community and the next, so that if a state or county tax is collected which is based on the estimate of property value made by local assessors, one community may have to pay more than its just share.

Then, too, it is difficult to get hold of a large part of the personal property. The assessor may guess with some accuracy what a man's house is worth, but in the attic of the same house or in a safe may be stored thousands of dollars' worth of valuable stocks and bonds which the assessor may never know anything about unless the man himself tells of them. So a premium is put on dishonesty and the honest man pays more than his share.

The general property tax is supplemented by fees for licenses of various kinds, franchises, and the like, and to a small extent by fines and penalties. Many states have inheritance taxes and corporation taxes, and a few have income taxes and taxes on mortgages or money otherwise out at interest. Several still collect a poll tax, which amounts to one, two, or three dollars for each person, regardless of property. In some states there is a small income from public land.

Why is an inheritance tax considered a just tax? Should the rate of tax be greater on big inheritances? Is there anything wrong with a poll tax?

Cities must depend on licenses, fines, and the general property tax for most of their income. When a special piece of improvement work is done, like laying out a new street, it is the custom in most cities to make a *special assessment* against the property owners who will be directly benefited, thus making them pay at least a part of the cost.

Main Street, Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan.

Notice the street lamps, as well as the general plan of the street.

When a city operates its water system or lighting plant, a separate charge is usually made to the owner or occupant of a building, but as the intention usually is to run these plants at about cost, it will not affect materially the rest of the community's expenses for government.

192. The Assessment and Collection of Local Taxes. — As long as the general property tax is used as a means of revenue, a record must be made by the government of the value of the property which it can tax. Such an assessment is made every year in some states, less often in others, by

assessors connected with the local government. While in theory all property should be assessed at its real value, in practice it often is not. In some communities the figure is deliberately put as low as one third of the probable value.

Do you see any reason for this practice? If you think your property is not fairly assessed, what can you do about it?

If there is no limit on the tax rate, the amount of the assessment makes little difference, for the rate can be high enough to offset the low valuation. Whatever the custom may be, an honest, intelligent assessor is a prime necessity to a fair and just system of taxation.

By some means the authorities estimate how much money will be needed from the general property tax. By adding up the total taxable valuation of the community, and dividing the amount needed by the total valuation, a decimal is obtained which is the rate for all individual taxes. If the property valuation of a township is $10,000,000, and the amount to be raised from the property tax is $120,000, the quotient is .012. As it is commonly expressed, the rate in that community would be 12 mills on the dollar. A person whose property was valued at $5000 would then have to pay $60 in taxes to that community.

School taxes, county taxes, and state taxes are often levied by different bodies of men, and the rate of taxation will vary. But for convenience the school and other local taxes are usually paid to the same official, and state taxes are frequently collected through the county.

In many cases a discount is allowed if the tax is paid before a certain date, and a penalty added if not paid by a certain later date. If taxes are not paid on property within a reasonable time, the authorities have the right to order it sold at public sale. Whatever remains after the taxes and costs of the sale are taken out is given back to the former owner.

193. Budget Making. — In most of the states of the United States, in many of the cities, and in the national

government, budget making is an unknown art. A *budget* is simply a carefully calculated summary of the probable expenses of a government or other organization for a year or a season, with a similar estimate of means to provide revenues to meet these expenses. Most European governments have a special officer in their cabinets who is expected to do this work. In the English cabinet he is called the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

In the United States there is no such person. The Secretary of the Treasury sometimes offers suggestions along this line, and the President recommends certain forms or rates of taxation, but Congress does exactly as it pleases with these suggestions. If the revenues and expenditures for a year happen to come out within a few million dollars of being even, it is because of some happy accident rather than of any intelligent plan. Appropriations are made without any reference to the money in the treasury, and appropriations and revenue bills are not even referred to the same committees.

Things are done the same way in most of the states. What wonder that we are in debt far beyond anything we have to show for it, and that we get less for what we spend than any other enlightened nation!

What ought to be done, and is done in some cities and states, is about as follows: Each officer who will have charge of the spending of money should make as definite an estimate as he can of the probable financial needs of his department for the next year. All such estimates should be presented either to one official or a special budget committee of three. The estimates should then be combined and an inquiry made to determine whether the revenue usually obtained will meet the demands. If it will not, the estimates should be pared down to meet the probable revenue or else new sources of revenue suggested. Frequently an adjustment in both directions would be the sensible thing.

Then the budget official or committee should lay the plan before the body that has legal power to levy taxes — council,

legislature, or Congress — with the right to defend the plans proposed. It would not be safe to permit taxes to be levied by the budget committee alone, but the argument that would follow the submission of the budget would clear up the whole matter and show the soundness or folly of any propositions that were advanced.[1]

Here is the budget of a large city for the year 1915:

Expenses	
Public safety, fire, police, etc.	$2,570,000
Sanitation	895,000
Highways	943,000
General administration	868,000
Water	836,000
Street lights	523,000
Charities	376,000
Libraries	243,000
Parks, etc.	498,000
Sinking funds, etc.	1,516,000
Health conservation	340,000
Interest	1,962,000
Miscellaneous	345,000
Total	$11,915,000
Receipts	
Taxes	$7,822,000
Water rents	2,692,000
Liquor licenses	687,000
Rents and sales	273,000
Fines, permits, interest on bank balances, fees, etc.	1,003,000
Total	$12,477,000

Notice that the interest charges amount to a large figure. Do you think this indicates good business management or not? Some say that a city needs the liquor license revenue to make both ends meet. Do you think it is so in this case? Would you judge this city's budget to be intelligently planned and administered?

194. Proposed Tax Reforms. — It is much easier to find fault than to correct the fault. With all the talk about the

[1] A budget system based on these principles has at last (1920) been seriously considered by Congress and will doubtless be enacted soon.

iniquities of the general property tax, no one has yet brought forward a substitute which does not have faults of its own, as well as some of those of the property tax.

Take, as an instance of the proposed reforms, the so-called *single tax*. The foremost advocate of the idea in the United States was Henry George, who wrote a book called "Progress and Poverty," in which he urged that his plan would almost bring about the millennium. He proposed that nothing whatever should be taxed except the value of land. Land, he said, is the gift of nature, and when individuals occupy this land for their own use, they should pay the state for it but should not be taxed for the buildings and other improvements which their own energy and labor brought into existence.

The gobbling up of land in cities by a few speculators who intended to hold it until it became more valuable was in his opinion responsible for the crowding of people in the slums and the resulting disease, crime, and poverty. If unoccupied land were taxed so that it would no longer be profitable to hold it idle, it would be built upon, the pressure on the crowded districts would be relieved, and everything would move on to happiness.

Several new Canadian towns have adopted the plan and have prospered during its operation, but whether the prosperity is due to their newness or to the single tax is not clear. Many converts have been made to Henry George's doctrine and there is a pretty general feeling that land values have, to say the least, not contributed their share of taxes.

But the question rises whether it is fair that the owners of land which costs nothing to protect should bear much of the burden of taxation, while the buildings which demand so many expenses for fire protection and other purposes should go wholly free. Moreover it is not proved to the satisfaction of all that the filling up of all unoccupied land with buildings would be a great improvement, or that the happiness and morality of any large number of people would be promoted by doing so.

If a plan could be satisfactorily worked out by which national, state, and local governments could draw upon different sources of revenue, instead of overlapping, as they sometimes do, doubtless we should find an improvement. Inheritance taxes and franchises, and no doubt other subjects of taxation, can without injustice be made to contribute much more than they do. After all, while many individuals pay less than they ought to, very few pay more than they get in the way of benefits. The honest expenditure of the revenues is a far more vital problem than the occasional unfairness of present revenue systems.

195. The Protective Tariff. — Getting revenue is not the only thing that can be done with taxes. They can be so arranged that industries can be encouraged or ruined, or that certain goods can be excluded entirely. To put a tax of $10 a pound on imported butter would be the most certain way of keeping foreign butter out of the country. If a tax on imported butter were five cents a pound, however, the result would probably be to reduce considerably the amount of butter imported and to permit butter makers in this country to charge four or five cents a pound more than they could otherwise get. Butter makers would be glad of that, but how about the rest of the people?

Here is the kernel of the whole argument between a protective tariff and a revenue tariff — is it better for the people as a whole that Americans should be able to make everything they need and that, in order to do that, manufacturers should be enabled to charge prices higher than we could get the same thing for elsewhere? Or should this artificial encouragement of home manufacturers be removed, with a probable detriment to some industries and a reduction in prices due to the lower cost of foreign-made goods?

If we believe that it is desirable to have a protective tariff high enough to enable us to produce everything we need, it does not follow that we must try to justify every protective tariff law that we have had. At last both the great political

parties seem to have reached the conclusion that the tariff should not be a political question, but that it is an economic problem. A Federal Tariff Commission of six members has been established, with the power to recommend desirable changes in the rates, so that they can be altered by Congress without passing an entirely new tariff bill and upsetting business generally.

QUESTIONS

What is a *tax?* Has a citizen a right to try to avoid paying taxes? Has the government the right to take your property without paying for it? On what principles should the levying of taxes be based?

Explain *direct* and *indirect* taxes. Explain the following words used in connection with taxes: *proportional, progressive, graduated, excise, customs, duties, specific, ad valorem.*

What great functions do governments perform which justify the collection of taxes? To what extent do national, state, and local governments perform each of these functions? How large a proportion of the whole cost of government in normal times is incurred by each of these agencies? What sources of income are drawn upon to meet these expenses? Which source supplies the most money? When is it good policy for a government to borrow money?

Make out a table in which you show the principal items of expense and leading sources of income of the last normal year for which you can get figures, for national finances, state, county, and municipal. Use the figures which particularly concern *you* in the last three parts of the table, not those of some other place.

What do you think of the general property tax? Can you suggest any satisfactory substitute? What is meant by the *assessment* of property? How are the local tax rates determined in your community and how are the taxes collected? What is the *single tax?* How do Henry George's ideas impress you?

What is a *budget?* Is the budget system in use in your state, county, or local community? If not, why not?

Explain the underlying distinction between a tariff for revenue and a protective tariff? Does it follow that because a certain tariff policy seems to work well in one country that it would be equally good for all? Would it be an improvement if the tariff were wholly removed from politics? What is the purpose of the Tariff Commission? Who are its members?

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Cost of the Great War and How It is to be Paid.

The "Pork Barrel."

What I would do if the United States or my State made me Chancellor of its Exchequer.

The Time and Manner of Assessing and Collecting our Local Taxes.

How our Governments could Save Money.

Resolved, that the prosperity of the United States depends upon the permanent retention of the protective tariff idea.

B. Economic and Industrial Problems

CHAPTER XXII

LABOR AND INDUSTRY

Labor in this country . . . has not to ask the patronage of capital, but capital solicits the aid of labor. — Webster.

But the obligations are not all on the side of capital. Society is as little ready to accept an oligarchy of labor as to tolerate longer an oligarchy of capital. — Haworth.

196. The Factors in Production. — The economist says there are three factors or agencies that help in producing the things that we use, eat, or wear. He defines them as follows:

(1) *Land* is any gift of nature which is used in producing goods. Water which is used to turn mill-wheels and the trees which grow in the forest are land, in this sense. A longer expression that means the same thing is *natural resources.*

(2) *Labor* is any activity of men which helps in the production of goods. This need not be physical labor. The man in the office who does nothing but think and give orders and dictate letters is just as much a laborer as the man who looks after the furnaces in the great mills or the girl who watches the swiftly moving shuttle in the factory.

(3) *Capital* is any product of labor that is used for producing more goods. Iron and wood, which are a form of land, are changed by the labor of several people into a shovel. Then if the shovel is used to throw coal into a furnace or to help in removing the ashes from a mill it has been used as a

form of capital. By all means get the idea that a great many other things than money may be capital. In fact a great many people are capitalists without knowing it. If the "white-wing" on the street owns the broom that he uses, that broom is a part of his capital, just as a great factory-building and a railroad train are part of the capital of the manufacturer and the railroad company.

Which of the three is most important? Land is necessary for any kind of economic activity, but it can do nothing of

Ohio River Barges.

Carrying coal, sand, and gravel. To what extent do you discern, in the economic sense, the use of land, labor, and capital, in this picture?

itself. Capital is necessary in every industry. See whether any of you can name a modern industry which does not use capital to some extent. Yet it cannot exist unless somebody's labor and some form of natural resource have first been brought together. And labor is the only one of the three factors, in the sense in which these terms are here used, which possesses intelligence. It can lead and direct, but the others must wait to be acted upon.

Labor, then, is of great importance and must be as carefully cared for as the two other factors of production. By

all means, we ought to make special effort to look out for the men, women, and children who furnish the labor needed to do the world's work. We ought to save them from unnecessary danger and injury, to keep them in good health, and to avoid wearing them out by toil which they are not old

Courtesy of National Child Labor Committee

LIVING CONDITIONS AMONG CANNERY WORKERS IN MARYLAND.
Men, women, and children are crowded into places of this kind.

or strong enough to perform without harm to body and mind.

197. Industrial Accidents. — The old common law of England took the position that accidents were an inevitable feature of industry and that when a person went to work in any industry or in any place he took upon himself all the risks of injury. It made no difference whether the fault was the employer's, the worker's, or a fellow-workman's, it was

a part of the risk of the business and everybody took his own chances.

This idea, coupled with the carelessness that seems natural to Americans, has made our record of accidents extremely bad. Some one has figured that every sixteen seconds somebody is injured in the factories, mines, or railroad business of the United States. In these three kinds of work there are probably more unavoidable accidents than in any others,

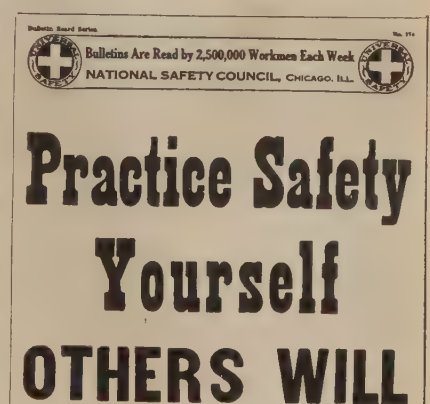
Steel Mills, Pittsburgh.
Many accidents occur in factories of this kind.

but there is no need whatever for so many as do occur. Such a condition is intolerable.

If no one suffered except the person who was hurt, the evil would be bad enough; for he may lose the wages he would otherwise have earned, and may never be able to do as good work again. But suppose an injured man has a family. Then they too may have to suffer from lack of food, clothing, or care. They may have to go out and work when they ought to be at home or in school and so they may lose the proper training for life. If the injury or illness is prolonged, the city or state or a charitable society may have to help them and the cost of doing this must come from the whole people. The injury to one is the injury of all.

How frequently do accidents occur in the occupations with which the members of your family are connected? How many of them carry insurance against accident or sickness?

198. Prevention of Accidents. — We have awakened to the situation sufficiently to take a real and lively interest in "safety first" campaigns of all kinds, as a means of making people careful and thereby escaping accidents. We expect the traveler on the street and the worker in the mill to watch where they are going and what they are doing. We expect the owner of a factory to keep those parts of machines covered which might catch a worker's clothing or some part of his body and inflict injury. We think the manager of the factory ought to see that it is properly lighted and ventilated and that no preventable conditions exist which will injure the health of his workers. Mines ought to be safely pillared and protected so that cave-ins or falling rock or poisonous gases may not kill or cripple the miner.


Bulletins Are Read by 2,500,000 Workmen Each Week
NATIONAL SAFETY COUNCIL, CHICAGO, ILL.
Practice Safety Yourself
OTHERS WILL FOLLOW YOU

A "Safety First" Bulletin.

Railroads must be run with the idea of getting every passenger to his destination alive and well rather than of madly rushing to break speed records. Losing even an hour's time is far better than not getting there at all. Safety brakes for slowing up or stopping trains, automatic couplers so that men do not have to go between cars, and steel and concrete coaches which cannot be easily smashed, are among the valuable improvements which every good railroad wants.

Not only does public sentiment believe in these things, but laws of Congress and of state legislatures are enforcing them when mill, mine, or railroad managers are obstinate. "Full crew" laws, which require a certain number of trainmen for trains of a certain number of cars, and laws limiting the number of hours when a trainman may be kept at work, so that he may not get completely exhausted and unfit to work, have also been enacted by many states.

Fan for Purifying the Air in a Mine. This can make 250 revolutions per minute.

Why are railroad companies generally opposed to "full crew" laws?

199. Workmen's Compensation Acts. — But it does not seem likely that all the laws ever made would prevent all accidents, even if these laws were enforced. To deal with injuries which occur in spite of our efforts to prevent them, most people have come to believe that it is fairer to put at least part of the burden upon the whole community rather than to make the individual worker bear it all. This is the principle which underlies "workmen's compensation" acts and "employers' liability" laws.

When a workman is hurt while at work the employer may be asked to pay a certain percentage of wages while he is forced to stay at home, or to give a fixed sum if the injury is a permanent one. Under other systems, the employer pays part of such expenses and the state pays part, or the state may maintain an insurance fund or compel employers to insure their employees in private insurance companies.

All these plans work out in about the same way. If the employer stands the expense, he charges a little more for his

product and the public makes it up. If the state pays the cost, taxes will be a little higher. But the worker and his family who have suffered are relieved from serious distress and the burden upon other persons is extremely slight because it is distributed among many.

CHARGING BOARD FOR MINERS' LAMPS.

In the best managed mines, electricity furnishes the only light permitted. Many dangerous gas explosions are thus averted.

200. Dangerous Trades. — There are some occupations which seem to have about them conditions which affect unfavorably the health of those who work at them. This may be the result either of the materials they have to use or of surroundings in which the work must be carried on.

Painters and others who work with some form of lead often suffer from a certain kind of poisoning. Workers in industries

where arsenic or mercury is used, or where the filing of brass is required, suffer from impaired health that seems to be caused by the fine particles or poisonous fumes that are taken into the lungs. Until recently a disease called " phossy jaw " was frequent in match factories which made use of phosphorus.

Probably we shall learn more from year to year as the study of these diseases continues. The discovery of a different process for making matches made it feasible for Congress to pass an act which has virtually ended the danger from " phossy jaw." In other cases the attempt is made to force the workmen to wear safety appliances of some kind while they are at work, in order to prevent inhaling dangerous substances. An extensive force of inspectors is necessary to enforce these and, in fact, all laws regulating labor conditions. Both employers and workmen are often careless and will not obey laws, even for their own good, unless they are compelled to do so.

201. Sweatshops. — The " sweatshop " is a place where work is done for long hours and low wages in surroundings not intended to be used for industrial purposes. Ready-made clothing, artificial flowers, cheap cigars and cigarettes are among the commodities most often made in such places.

Frequently whole families are engaged in the work that is carried on, from the mother down to the three-year-old child. They are paid ridiculously low wages by a contractor or " sweater," who has assumed a contract with a large manufacturer to get a certain amount of work done. Very often, as in the case of clothing, only a part of the work is done in the sweatshop, such as sewing linings, putting on buttons, and the like. A whole family working twelve or fifteen hours a day may not get more than fifty or sixty cents for their labor.

With anywhere from three to fifteen or twenty working in the same room — quite likely the same room where a family eats and sleeps — sanitary conditions are anything

but attractive. Health and vitality of the workers suffer, disease germs flourish, and all kinds of contagion may be spread among those who work there and among those, perhaps a thousand miles away, who wear the garments sewed in such places.

Sweatshops exist because of some people's greed and other people's ignorance and poverty. Most of this kind of work

Courtesy of National Child Labor Committee

HOME WORK IN THE GARMENT INDUSTRY.

Often many workers are found in a room of this character. What can the home life be under such conditions?

is done by foreigners. Years ago it was chiefly the Irish, then the Germans, then the Jews of various nationalities, and lately the Italians are getting into it. They live in the crowded districts of large cities and have no place to do such work outside of their own homes, which are already pitifully small.

The head of the family may be earning only small wages and the rest of the family think they must help him out.

Other families whose chief wage-earner is sick or dead know no other means of getting a few cents a day to keep themselves alive. So many families are willing to do this work that the contractor can get his work done for starvation figures.

To remedy this evil, laws have been passed in some states forbidding the performance of certain kinds of labor except in rooms that contain so many cubic feet of air-space and are otherwise half-decent places to work in. Like all laws these must be enforced in order to be of any use, and that does not always occur. The payment of higher wages to the unskilled workers in general would remove some of the excuses for the sweatshop work.

The public can do something, too, by insisting on buying products which are not made in a sweatshop. The *Consumers' League* is a private organization which tries to educate the public to the seriousness of the sweatshop evil and to spread information that will enable them to know when they are getting goods made in proper conditions. The Consumers' League label may be used by those firms which comply with the laws and provide suitable sanitary conditions in places where their goods are made.

Have you any reason to believe that the garments you are wearing were not made in a sweatshop?

202. Child Labor. — It is much better for a child to have something to do than to be allowed to "loaf." The old-fashioned home of moderate means gave every member some little part in the daily tasks, with opportunity, too, for a reasonable amount of play outdoors, when school hours were over. Hardly any better place than this could be imagined for a boy or girl to grow up healthy and happy. But such homes are growing fewer and fewer every day. Many homes do not have enough for the children to do, while others because of poverty or other causes work the children far beyond their years.

Not until great factories appeared as places in which labor was carried on did the evil of child labor as we know it become common. This industrial period began in England in the latter part of the eighteenth century and in the United States somewhat later. The factory owners were glad to get all the laborers they could, and worked them just as many hours as they could.

Courtesy of National Child Labor Committee

SHUCKING OYSTERS.

"Children, eight years old, working steadily, make five 'pots'—thirty cents—a day."

When at last the English Parliament learned what conditions prevailed in some of the factories, extensive investigations were started. It was discovered that children even seven or eight years old were at work 14, 15, or 16 hours a day in some cases. Speedy action followed, and laws were passed reducing the hours and raising the ages within which child labor was permitted. Very mild indeed these restrictions would seem to-day, but they were a step in the right

direction, and they have been extended further and further as time has passed.

Since human nature does not differ very much in any part of the world, the same greed of factory owners caused similar conditions to arise in the mills of the United States. New England first experienced the temptation, and Massachusetts was the first state to pass any laws limiting child labor. Workers under 16 years of age in the United States now number 2,000,000 or more, but owing to an aroused public sentiment on this subject the percentage of such workers to the whole population has begun to decrease.

Mills, mines and quarries, canneries, and various forms of agricultural work, are the principal fields where child labor finds a place. Southern states like Mississippi and Alabama, where cotton mills have recently been built, are the worst offenders, but Massachusetts, where the evil first came to light, has so improved conditions that it shows as clean a record as any state.

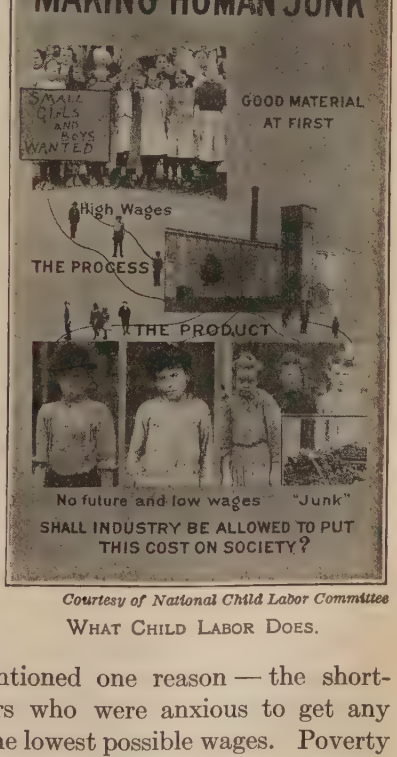
203. Effects of Child Labor. — The ruinous effects of child labor are many. First of all, a child who is forced to spend many hours a day even in a well-managed cotton mill, sitting or standing in one position much of the time, is likely to suffer a stunting of the body and dulling of mind and soul which will prevent his ever becoming as strong, healthy, and bright as a normal man or woman ought to be. If these children when they grow up become parents, their children in turn are almost certain to lack the physical inheritance and moral guidance which it is desirable for every child to receive.

What kind of intelligent citizens can be expected to come from homes where sometimes everybody works but father, and where all reach home at night tired from a hard day's work, with no ambition to think of self-education or betterment of any kind? It takes the noisy, glaring, grosser kind of amusement to make any appeal to their hardened souls, and if they do take time for pleasure, it will probably be the kind that leads to vice and crime. Child labor and education

are positively opposed to each other, for it is next to impossible for a child to work and study at the same time. If he is in the factory, he cannot be in school.

Child labor also affects disastrously the condition of all labor. If a manufacturer can get a child to work for a small wage, he will not want to pay adults much more. In the end this comes back upon the employers themselves, for ignorant, incompetent laborers cannot do the quality of work that can be performed by intelligent workmen.

It has often happened that manufacturers have declared that they would be ruined if they had to give up child labor, but when they were forced by law to do so, they have found that machinery could do better the work that children had been doing. So they have been pleased in the end that they were forced to change their methods.



Courtesy of National Child Labor Committee

WHAT CHILD LABOR DOES.

If child labor is so bad, why has it been so common? We have just mentioned one reason — the short-sighted greed of employers who were anxious to get any labor which they could at the lowest possible wages. Poverty in families where there were many children has sometimes seemed to justify the children's going to work as soon as a job of any kind was offered. Frequently, however, parents have put their children to work in order to be able to take

things easy themselves. They lie about their children's ages and report their financial condition to be worse than it is.

Then again, when boys or girls get along toward the age of twelve or thirteen a kind of restlessness sometimes appears. They get tired of school and think they want to do something real. If their parents are too easy-going or lack control, they let the children leave school, to drift into some poorly paid jobs and perhaps lose all chance of ever getting a good position in life either industrially or socially.

Read some account of child labor as it has been common even in recent years in canning factories or southern cotton mills.

204. Child Labor Laws. — All of the states now have some laws concerning the employment of children, but not more than ten or a dozen have really effective ones. No child under 16 should be allowed to be regularly employed more than 8 hours a day or to be employed at night at all. Along with every child labor law should go a law for compulsory attendance at school, for to forbid employment without giving a child anything to do would be folly of the worst kind. There are some industries in which children ought never to be employed.

To back up the states which have good laws and to set an example to the rest of them, Congress passed a law in 1916 along the lines we have indicated, denying the right of transportation in interstate commerce to goods produced where the terms of the law were not complied with. The Supreme Court later ruled by a 5 to 4 vote, that this law was unconstitutional, as an unwarranted interference with a state's domestic affairs. Congress then undertook to reach the same end by putting a high tax on the products of child labor.

Should a child be required to do any regular work while attending school? If so, how much?

205. Women Workers. — The employment of women in the business world raises problems which in some respects are like those of child labor. Certain kinds of work and

unduly long hours are harder on them than on men, and to a still greater degree may affect the health and prosperity of future generations.

The employment of women outside the home is also due chiefly to the development of the factory system. The states with many cotton and woolen mills, Massachusetts,

Women at Work under Favorable Conditions.
The H. J. Heinz Factory.

Rhode Island, South Carolina, Mississippi, are the ones where the largest proportion of women are employed. A few over one fifth of all wage earners are women, and a slightly larger proportion of women over ten years of age are employed. The total number of employed women to-day approaches 10,000,000. This number does not, of course, include those who are engaged in purely home duties.

One phase of this problem which appears to some extent

in child labor is that of competition with men. Teaching and keeping boarders were once the only genteel occupations open to women, and some people were not sure that keeping boarders would classify under that head. To-day four fifths of the teachers are women, and they are found in more than nine tenths of the occupations recorded in the census. They have shown considerable special adaptability as stenographers and clerks, and in many occupations do as good work as men.

But many women who take business positions expect to get married sooner or later, or for some other reason do not plan to continue the work during their whole lifetime. Besides, there are some occupations which they cannot easily fill, and for this and other reasons their movement from one position to a better one is not so easy as for men.

The number of women who would take moderately good positions has been greater than the number of positions open to them, and those already at work have not been organized effectively if at all. The result of all this is that the pay of women, even for equal work, has usually been considerably less than that of men. The average wage of men also has naturally been reduced, at least in the occupations where women are employed.

Should men and women get the same pay for the same work?

206. Women's Labor Laws. — It is agreed by those who have studied the matter that a woman cannot feed, clothe, and care for herself properly on less than $7 to $9 a week, depending on the local conditions under which the work is carried on. Very many girls do not get that much. The average of all, indeed, is not above that figure. It follows that many either must go without proper food or clothing or help out their income from some other source than their regular wages.

To protect women themselves and to reduce their unfair competition with men through the acceptance of excessively low wages, a number of states have passed minimum wage

laws for women. Under such laws a commission may be appointed to fix the lowest wage which may be paid to women in any industry, or the law itself may mention the minimum amount.

The length of hours for employed women is also the subject of law-making in many states. Employers are forbidden to keep them at work more than 54 hours a week, for example,

Shoe Factory, Spencer, Massachusetts.
Many women and girls are employed here.

or even 48, and girls under 18 may not be employed after a fixed hour in the evening or engage in certain occupations at all. The Women's Bureau in the national Department of Labor investigates the problems of women's work.

It seems certain that women will not retire from the business world into which they have entered. Many of them are not willing and probably it is not desirable that they should keep their activities within the walls of their homes as they were once accustomed to do. The desire of many women to feel that they do not live on men's charity, the realization by

others that they can do at least some things as well as men, and the plain fact with some that they must work, starve, or go to the poorhouse, all combine to take them into the business world to stay.

207. Unemployment. — A nation with everybody engaged in work suited to his taste would probably be as near perfect as can be expected. No nation has ever reached that stage, but we have at least discovered how undesirable it is to have many men out of work at any time. Idleness leads to drunkenness or even crime. A man loses his ambition and even his ability to work well or to keep at it for a long time. His family may have to suffer from lack of food or clothing and may themselves get into permanent bad habits.

Many reasons contribute to cause such unemployment. A man may be sick or injured, some one else may get his job, and when he gets out again he may find that either he cannot do the work any longer or that he is not wanted. Strikes and other difficulties sometimes cause more loss in time and wages than can be made up in a long time, even if extra pay is secured.

A period of depression in business such as prevailed from 1893 to 1897 throws so many out of work that in the big cities bread lines with thousands waiting for a "hand-out" become a regular feature. Then some trades do not furnish steady employment the year round. There is a much greater demand for coal at some seasons than others. Lumbering can be most easily carried on at certain times in the year. Cold weather makes some kinds of carpentry and mason work difficult or impossible.

How does the extent of unemployment in your community or in the country now compare with other times? What is the reason?

208. Remedies. — Whatever the cause, the effect of unemployment is bad. Not only the workman and his family, but society suffers as well. He produces nothing for others to enjoy and has no money to buy what others produce.

But how to prevent this condition is not always clear. The national Department of Labor and many of the states conduct employment bureaus which try to keep all sections of the country or of a state informed of the needs of other sections. It often happens that in one section men may be starving while other sections are clamoring for laborers.

It is not always easy to get men to go where the work is. They want to live in the city rather than on the farm. They do not want to leave their families or move to another town. They are not willing to work for less than a certain sum, no matter how much they may be in need. For such people neither society nor government can do very much, and for many of them sympathy is wasted.

Some economists urge that the government should plan its own public works, such as street construction, laying of sewers, and the like, so that it will call for the most helpers at the time when work is slack in other occupations. Others say that insurance against unemployment, as well as against sickness or accident, should be provided by the state. Anything that conduces to steadiness of work and income on the part of America's millions of workers will help a little toward general happiness and prosperity.

Find out who are the I. W. W. What are their principles?

209. Labor Unions and Their Objects. — One man out of a thousand employed in a large factory can have little influence upon the policy of his employer in regard to wages or conditions of labor, unless he is exceptionally skillful and capable of performing some special service essential to the business. The thousand united in one organization can exert a force that the factory-owner, millionaire though he might be, would hesitate to treat with contempt.

Realizing this fact the workers in many industries have formed themselves into unions, and in countries such as England have acquired a power greater even than they can now exercise here. The union is a permanent body and can

map out a policy to follow as readily as the employer, and if its officers are intelligent men, it can plan for the interests of its members for years to come.

The first unions, both in England and the United States, were usually limited to one city and to one trade in the city. Now they may embrace all the workers in a certain industry in several states, as the United Mine Workers of America. Another tendency of late years is to bring many different unions into one great federation, on the same principle as the United States itself is organized.

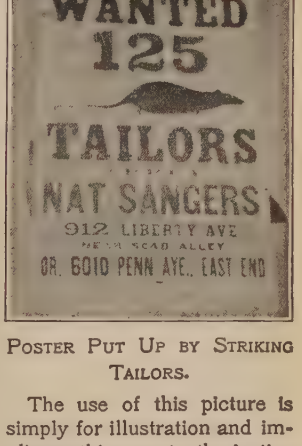
The best type of this movement is the *American Federation of Labor*, which now includes 110 national unions and claims over 2,000,000 paid members. Its president, Samuel Gompers, ranks with John Mitchell, who for many years headed the United Mine Workers, among the most intelligent and far-sighted of labor leaders.

The main objects of the unions are to secure higher wages, shorter hours of labor, and better working conditions for their members. As a side issue, unions often provide a fund which may be drawn upon for the payment of benefits in accident or sickness or when members are out on a strike, and they sometimes make direct efforts to encourage the mental improvement of their members and the conditions of life outside the factory. But the union usually emphasizes the idea that the improvement of home conditions can come only through shorter hours to give the worker more time at home and through more pay to enjoy his greater leisure.

What is the difference between "wages" and "salary"? Labor speakers sometimes talk about "Wage slaves." What do they mean?

210. Union Methods. — To gain the ends it desires, the union is likely to make use of one or more of three methods, which under favorable conditions may be powerfully effective. The first of these is the practice of *collective bargaining*, which involves the making of the *trade agreement*. This

means that instead of letting each workman make whatever terms he can with his employer, the officers of the union carry on the discussion in behalf of all their members. If the officers and the employer can agree on terms, they sign an agreement which binds both parties for a period, usually, of one to three years. To make this power of collective bargaining effective, the unions favor a "closed shop" — that is, an understanding by which only members of the union will be employed in that establishment. The employer almost invariably prefers the "open shop," where he is free to hire any one he pleases, and where any worker may work or not in accordance with his own individual wishes. Some very bitter controversies have arisen over this point, for the employer feels keenly that he, rather than the officer of a union, should have the right to say who shall work in his own establishment.



Poster Put Up by Striking Tailors.

The use of this picture is simply for illustration and implies nothing as to the justice of the dispute.

If peaceful terms cannot be made, the next step of the union officials may be to order a *strike*. When this is declared, all the members of the union are expected to refuse to work for that employer until he grants their demands or until for some other reason their officers tell them to return. Strikes occur, of course, in places where the men are not organized into unions, but they are less frequent and less likely to be successful. Unions which have no grievance of their own sometimes declare a "sympathetic strike" in order to force their own employer to urge another employer to yield to the wishes of strikers in the latter's factory.

Still another scheme is the *boycott*. This is an organized

effort to induce all those who sympathize with the strikers to refuse to use the products of a factory where a strike is going on, to ride on the cars of a railway company, or to do anything else that would help to "break" a strike. In carrying out a policy of this kind, the unions often publish an "unfair list," as they call it, which contains the names of firms or individuals who have refused to comply with demands made on them by labor unions, the idea being that friends of the unions will not patronize such establishments. Getting at the same end in a less disagreeable way, the union may publish a "white list" of firms with which it is on good terms, and it furnishes a "union label," which is to be attached to all goods from shops conducted in accordance with the wishes of the union.

Union officials are generally among the first to condemn the destruction of property which sometimes occurs when an extensive strike is under way. No doubt such occasions are abused by the rowdy element which exists in almost every large community and which seizes its opportunity to do violence. At such times it is next to impossible to tell how much, if any, of the disorder is due to the strikers themselves. The practice of "picketing," or stationing men around a factory to prevent others from going there to work, often leads to personal encounters and sometimes to bloodshed.

Employers have their weapons too when disputes arise. They may close their doors and *lock out* their employees until the latter are willing to return to work or make more reasonable demands. They may establish a *blacklist* on which the name of a troublesome workman is placed, and when that workman tries to get a job with another employer he finds he will not be hired.

Employers often call upon the courts to issue *injunctions* or orders commanding union officers to refrain from some action which the employer declares will endanger his property. Unions have always violently opposed this use

of the injunction, and the courts do not seem so ready to use it on slight pretexts as formerly.

Employers also have learned the lesson of coöperation, and we have now a National Association of Manufacturers to offset the nation-wide unions of laborers. The heads of the great railways work in harmony, too, in dealing with the national " brotherhoods " which their employees have formed.

Do you or the people of your community look for a union label when you buy goods? Should you?

211. Accomplishments of the Unions. — The condition of the laboring man has improved tremendously since the unions came into being. How much of the credit for this improvement is due to the unions and how much is due to a humane and enlightened public sentiment is not easy to determine. No doubt the unions accomplished much in arousing public opinion as well as in working directly for the objects which they desired.

But since the unions came into being, the standard day's work for men has gone down from twelve to eight hours. A dollar a day was once pretty fair pay, but now no street sweeper or garbage collector would think of working for such wages. Factories were once the dirtiest places imaginable, without any more windows than necessary, and with absolutely no toilet or sanitary conveniences worth the name. Now the best factories are almost as clean as a well-kept house, and are provided with well-equipped rest- and recreation-rooms. The laborer no longer consents to consider his labor merely a thing to be bought and sold like hides and pig iron, and has succeeded in getting Congress to recognize that view of the matter in its laws.

Indeed the whole nation felt the power of the railroad brotherhoods in 1916 when the President of the United States went specially before Congress to induce them to pass a law to please the brotherhoods, so that they would not go on a threatened strike. Such conditions never existed

before and may never exist again, but the fact that such a thing could occur even once shows how times have changed.

212. Conciliation and Arbitration. — The general public does not care to be ruled either by a group of "money kings" or by a few presidents of brotherhoods or unions. It favors justice and a square deal to all, but it thinks that inasmuch as both laboring man and employer get their income from the public both ought to remember the whole people as well as themselves.

But what happens when a great strike or lockout takes place? No matter how much the people depend upon a certain few individuals for their coal or milk or transportation, if those individuals get into a quarrel, in supreme selfishness they put their own demands above the public's need of their service. Whole families may freeze for lack of coal, babies may starve because there is no milk, the farmer's grain and fruit may rot for want of means to get it to market, and all because one set of men cannot agree with another set about the number of cents an hour which shall be paid for their labor. And this is justice? It does not seem so to the man who has to suffer through no fault of his own. The Supreme Court in its ruling on the "Adamson Act" gave the opinion that Congress is justified in any legislation necessary to keep open the arteries of commerce in the country.

The logical thing to do when such a disagreement occurs is for both sides to refer the whole matter to a board of arbitration which has no direct interest in the affair. Let this impartial body investigate the situation and report its findings, with the understanding that both sides shall accept them. But since one or both parties to the dispute are often obstinate, several states have established boards of conciliation and arbitration, which have the right to intervene in labor disputes and try to get the disputants to allow their quarrel to be settled peacefully. Sometimes the board itself may assist in making the settlement if it is requested to do so by the interested parties.

New Zealand, Australia, and Norway have adopted a system of compulsory arbitration which is intended to prevent most labor difficulties from going so far as to make the public suffer. When a controversy arises between a union and their employers, they are forbidden to undertake a strike or lockout. Instead, a special board, with authority backed by the government itself, may be called on to investigate the controversy, and its recommendations must be obeyed. Public sentiment in the United States, which has never taken very kindly to compulsion from the government in such matters, is beginning to turn toward government intervention in labor disputes.

If we do not care to adopt the principle of the New Zealand plan, we can follow the example of our neighbor, Canada. The Canadian law is like that of New Zealand except that the government does not enforce the awards of the investigating board. The idea is that the board will inform the public what it believes to be the right and wrong of the controversy, and that public sentiment will be strong enough to force the disputants to accept the opinion. Labor unions do not like the plan, for they say they should not be denied the right to strike as a last resort. But if an impartial investigating board can be obtained, the interests of unions, employers, and the public alike would be protected.

QUESTIONS

Define the three factors in production. Compare them in importance. Some say we should include a fourth factor — management. Do you agree with them?

What was the "fellow servant" doctrine of old English common law? Why do we not adhere to that principle any longer? What is the record of the United States in the matter of industrial accidents? Illustrate what is meant by the "safety first" movement. Have you any personal responsibility along that line? Why do we have "workmen's compensation" acts? What is their nature?

Give examples of dangerous trades. What can be done to improve conditions in them?

What is a sweatshop? Who engage in this kind of work? Why do they go into it? Can its evils be eradicated?

Should children have some definite, regular work to do? Can you fix the point at which work becomes a harm to a child? When and where did the evils of child labor become serious? How far reaching is it to-day in this country? Why has it existed? Summarize its disastrous effects. What has been done to make conditions better? Can you suggest any further improvements?

In what occupations outside the home does there seem to be the most room for women? What problems arise in connection with such employment of women? What is its effect upon the standard of wages? What are "minimum wage" laws? Why are they urged? What are the usual terms of women's labor laws? Are we likely to have more or less of women's labor in the future outside the home? Discuss the bad effects of unemployment. Why does it occur? To what extent do you think it can be avoided?

Why are labor unions formed? Relate some facts about their growth and present importance. Define *collective bargaining*, *trade agreement*, *closed shop*, *open shop*, *strike*, *sympathetic strike*, *boycott*, *unfair list*, *union label*, *scab*, *picketing*. Relate any instances of their use with which you are familiar. What methods do employers use to combat the activities of the unions?

How have labor conditions improved since labor unions existed? How far do you think this is due to the unions?

Show how the innocent public often has to suffer during a strike. Is this justifiable? How do boards of conciliation and arbitration commonly work in this country? What are the underlying features of the Canadian and New Zealand laws for compulsory investigation and arbitration?

SPECIAL TOPICS

Accidents in Mines and on Railroads.

The Safety First Movement.

Child Labor in the South.

Child Labor and Women's Labor Laws of Our State.

The Work of Employment Agencies.

The American Federation of Labor.

John Mitchell and Samuel Gompers.

Resolved, that labor unions have done more good than harm in this country.

Resolved, that the United States government should institute a system of compulsory arbitration of labor disputes.

The Story of the Adamson Bill.

CHAPTER XXIII

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION

Property has its duties as well as its rights. — Drummond.

213. Capital and Its Importance. — We have already defined *capital* as that product of past industry which is used in further production. We have pointed out that no industry in existence to-day can get along without using capital in some form. When men lived in caves and an animal's hide constituted a man's full-dress suit, capital did not exist in great quantities; but even then the club which the man used in killing a bear for food or clothing was the product of past industry used in further production, and was therefore a crude kind of capital. As time goes on and civilization advances, capital steadily plays a more important part in industry.

But what things constitute capital? We cannot include under this head such eminently desirable personal qualities as character, talent, and health; for though they are of immense importance to every one, they cannot conveniently be measured and expressed in definite terms. Only the material things produced by industry which are embraced under the general term *wealth* can be so reckoned.

But only that part of wealth is capital which is actually used to produce something more. A man may have a sufficient supply of silk stockings so that he may put on a new pair every day, but if his wealth is not used to more effective purposes than that, not much of it is capital. Railroads,

telegraph and telephone lines, machines, tools, and factory buildings, are all forms of wealth that are used to produce more wealth. Therefore they are capital.

Money may or may not be capital, depending on the way it is used. If it is hidden away in an old shoe, it is no more capital than the shoe, but if it is used to make change or

THE LARGEST FACTORY OF ITS KIND IN THE WORLD.
Pickles and preserves.

to pay a man's wages, it is used to assist in producing more wealth and is capital.

A distinction is often made between "capital" and "capital goods." Capital is an abstract word which suggests the *industrial value* of certain forms of wealth. Capital goods are the *actual things* used in production. Railway cars, boilers, looms, furnaces, are capital goods. They may wear out and have to be replaced by others, but while they are in use they represent capital in the conduct of industry.

Try to find the money value of the various forms of capital employed in some particular business. How much would the profits

of that business have to be in order to pay 6% interest on the investment?

214. Forms of Business Organization. — Business success depends in very large measure upon capable management. As the volume of business grows, the more necessary it becomes to provide efficient organizers and to assign to each worker a definite piece of work to perform, so that each may do what he can do best.

OFFICE BUILDING.

Birmingham, Alabama. The tallest building south of the Ohio.

The simplest form of business management is that in which one man assumes the entire responsibility for the operation of an enterprise. The profit or loss is wholly his, unless he chooses to divide them with his employees. This plan makes it possible for the business to be carried on in a uniform way and with a definite policy, for a man is not supposed to disagree with himself. But when a business becomes large, one man finds trouble in attending to everything. Since no single English word exactly suits the purpose, we sometimes use the French term *entrepreneur* for this kind of management.

To obtain the benefit of more than one mind and to share responsibility, two or three or even more persons may join in a *partnership*. Each member contributes something to the conduct of the business, and each shares in the profit or loss in proportion to the part he is supposed to have contributed. Money investment is only one way to contribute to a partnership. Experience, time spent at the work, or

special responsibility might be counted as equivalent to money. The possible lack of harmony among the members and the necessity of reorganization if one partner dies are the principal disadvantages of this method.

The most common way to carry on extensive business to-day is to organize a *corporation*. Every state has laws about organizing corporations, but some states are much less strict than others. New Jersey was once the joke of the country because of the ease with which a charter for a corporation could be secured there. Its requirements have now been made much more severe, but many of the best-known corporations and trusts in the land are still operating under charters which they obtained in the days of New Jersey's generosity.

The charter of the corporation mentions the kind of business which it may engage in and the amount of stock which it may issue. The stock is sold in shares which are most often valued at $100 each, and the profits are divided among the stockholders in proportion to the amount of stock which they hold. If the stockholders are numerous, they elect a board of directors, with a president, vice president, and other officers, and these officers actually manage the business of the corporation.

The corporation has all the privileges and powers before the law that any individual possesses, and some besides. The money of hundreds or even thousands of people can be invested in the business through the sale of stock, and so it can be conducted on a wide scale. The death of one officer or stockholder need not affect the business. Another can take his place, and like Tennyson's "Brook," "men may come and men may go, but" the corporation goes on forever.

Make a diagram that will show the organization of a great business, indicating the relation of its different parts and officials to each other. Perhaps you can secure printed reports published for the benefit of stockholders or the public.

215. The Trust. — The success of the corporation as a form of business management led to the idea of still further combinations. About forty years ago a plan was invented by which several corporations engaged in similar business would all turn over their stock to a committee of "trustees," who were to direct the policies of all the corporations which they represented.

Such a combination was called a *trust*. Its object was to control as much as possible of the production of some commodity, so that it could regulate prices and buy and sell to the best advantage. The Standard Oil Company was the first great trust.

Another plan of combination was to organize a new company, called a "holding company," which was to have stock of its own, but was to do nothing else whatever than to own stock in several companies of the same kind, so that they could be directed virtually as one.

In the people's mind, almost any corporation that does business on a big scale is looked upon as a trust, but bigness alone does not make a trust. Many of the trusts that were organized were too ambitious or were badly managed and did not prove to be money-makers. There is a very general feeling that business combinations such as this are dangerous, but it is hard to prevent their existence. Much of their business can be done in such a way that the government would find it hard to prove that they did anything wrong. Besides, if they are proved guilty, it is hard to inflict punishment. You cannot put a corporation in jail, and moderate fines are hardly felt. The imprisonment of trust officials who disregard the law seems to be about the best way to handle the situation.

With what forms of business organization are the members of your family connected? Would their business be benefited by being organized on the "trust" idea?

Is it possible for a big business organization to control the activities of smaller ones without actually operating them?

216. Relations of the Workers. — Industrial progress has changed the relations of the ordinary workmen to each other just as much as it has affected the management of capital. There was a time when everybody had to be a jack-of-all-trades if he expected to be able to hold his own against other men. But it was soon discovered that every one would be better off if the man who liked to raise sheep, for example, should give his whole time to that, while the man who could build boats well should follow that occupation. Thus division of occupations came about. The next step was division of labor within an occupation. Instead of one man's trying to do all the work necessary in putting a boat together, one might make the sails and another the ropes, while still others constructed the hull.

But to-day we have gone far beyond that division, and now most workers specialize on some small part of a process. One person who is helping to make shoes, for instance, may do nothing else than run a machine which puts in the eyelets for the laces to run through. By this specialization the time needed to make almost any common article of trade is wonderfully reduced, and the work will probably be done very much better, for every one is supposed to be working at the particular little process which he can do most easily or which he likes best.

The only serious danger in this minute specialization is that a workman will become narrow and will find it hard to adjust himself to something else if any new machine should be invented, or if by some other change he lost his chance to do the one particular little thing with which he had become specially familiar.

Trace the changes in methods of conducting some activity, as house-building or making clothes.

There is a great difference, of course, in the capacity of different laborers. Some do only those things which require little more than physical strength or quickness of

movement, like the ditch-digger or the girl who pastes labels on boxes or bottles. These workers we call *unskilled*, for no particular training is required.

Then there are those who need some little preparation or practice before they can work well, like a street car motorman or conductor, or a press feeder in a printing office, but

SPECIALIZATION IN INDUSTRY.

How much specialization would you judge to be in effect in the pictures on pages 43 and 393?

whose occupation does not require a high grade of intelligence or long experience. These we call *semi-skilled*.

Going beyond them we come to the *skilled* laborer. He must have a considerable period of training and must have brains enough so that he can adapt his work to the needs of any particular job. Such must be the carpenter, the plumber, and the printer. The unskilled laborer must be content with small wages. He cannot expect more than

$4 or $5 a day, while the skilled worker may receive as high as $10, or even more.

217. Monopolies. — In the operations of a trust the feature which we fear most is the trust's effort to get into its own hands the control of all or at least of a very large part of the production of some commodity — in short, to establish a *monopoly*. Along with such a control goes the power of fixing the price and regulating the quantity that is produced. There is always the temptation to use the power of a monopoly without much regard for the interests of the public.

There are several kinds of monopolies. (1) We have government monopolies, such as the post office in the United States and other countries, the railroads in Prussia, New Zealand, and elsewhere, and the sale of salt in Italy. Private citizens are not allowed to engage in these enterprises at all in the countries mentioned.

(2) Private legal monopolies are granted by governments in the form of patents or copyrights, or franchises, good for a limited time. We think it is only fair that a person should get some reward for the product of his intelligence or public service, but we do not favor his keeping an endless ownership of it.

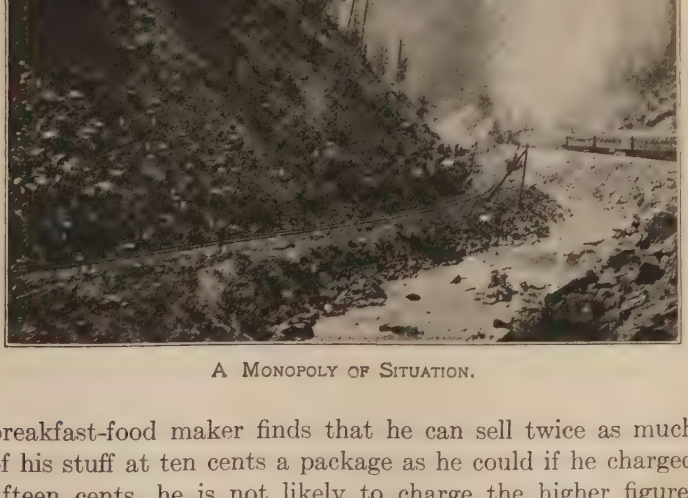
(3) Monopolies of situation are the result of controlling the only location where the business can be carried on. A railroad company may occupy a river valley or mountain pass which furnishes a route so much superior to any other that competition in that section of country is almost out of the question.

(4) Monopolies of organization are those which are gained by bringing together into a trust or union all or most of those who are engaged in a certain business or employment. That is the object for which trusts are formed. Labor unions wish to gain exactly the same control over the workers in an industry.

(5) A less dangerous kind of monopoly is known as per-

sonal. That occurs when an individual is the only one of his kind in a neighborhood, so that people must accept his services or go without. The doctor, the printer, the photographer, in many a country village enjoys this kind of monopoly.

218. Monopoly Prices. — It would be a mistake to assume that the monopolist always or even usually charges prices so high as to be beyond the reach of the common people. The monopolist is out to make as much money as possible. If a



A Monopoly of Situation.

breakfast-food maker finds that he can sell twice as much of his stuff at ten cents a package as he could if he charged fifteen cents, he is not likely to charge the higher figure, for the chances are that by producing in larger quantities he can save much of the cost of production as well as sell so much more.

There are two forces operating to limit the power of monopoly to fix prices. One of these is called the power of substitution. This means that if some commodity costs an unreasonable price, people will not use it, but will take something else in its place. The second is the possibility

of competition. If a monopolist puts his price outrageously high, other persons may be tempted to come into the business. For even if they do not have the conveniences for manufacture that the monopolist enjoys, they may make enough profit under less favorable conditions to induce them to enter the field.

The aim of the monopolist is to charge just as much as he can without making it possible for others to come into the business, while at the same time he keeps the price low enough so that people will not be encouraged to quit using his product. The Standard Oil Company, for example, reduced the price of kerosene oil far below what it was before the Company was formed, but no one will assert that they put the price as low as they could have done and still have made a reasonable profit.

219. Public Policy Regarding Monopolies. — If it is true that the proper motive in business and politics should be "the greatest good to the greatest number," there is no question of the need of regulation of monopolies by the government. If the monopolist is producing one of the necessities of life, he holds in his hands the power even of life and death over thousands and perhaps millions of people. By all odds such monopolies should be enjoyed only by the government itself or under such strict governmental supervision that the monopolist shall be prevented from robbing the people in order to fill his own pockets.

But "big business" has come to stay, and if it is kept under proper control it can often serve the public much better than if hundreds of small fry tried to do the same thing each for himself. What a nuisance it often is to have two or three different telephone companies operating in the same city! The person you want to call in a hurry quite possibly has the other 'phone. How much less efficient might two or three railroads be, which ran between two cities of moderate size, than one great system which could then make enough to supply the best cars and most careful service with-

out charging the public a penny more! If two street car companies try to serve the same section of a city, one of them or both will probably go into bankruptcy before long.

Do not misunderstand what we have said. We do not mean that competition is not good. If conducted in a fair and honorable way, it is true, as the adage runs, that "competition is the life of trade." But if under modern conditions, competition may mean only the crushing of the weaker by the stronger, little good can come to the public in return. Often monopoly under proper control can do more by far for the people than unlimited competition. To determine wisely when such circumstances exist is one of the important duties of our governments to-day. But uncontrolled monopoly is always to be dreaded and prevented.

220. The Anti-Trust Laws. — Our first attempts to regulate business in the interest of the people went on the theory that we ought to prevent any interference with free competition. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act, passed by Congress in 1890, declared that any combination "in restraint of trade between the states" was illegal. The act lay harmlessly on the books until President Roosevelt came into office. Believing that a law is not for ornamental purposes only, he caused numerous prosecutions to be made for violation of it, and these were continued under later administrations.

The Standard Oil Company was ordered to break up into the parts from which it was originally formed, and the Tobacco Trust was treated in the same way. But though some good unquestionably resulted, in that big business organizations were more careful how they conducted their business, the net result was much less than had been expected. The Clayton Act of 1914 was intended to define more clearly the purpose and scope of trust regulation, and to make clear just what practices are illegal.

Greater success has been attained in dealing with the railroads. Beginning with the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887,

restrictive measures were started which have wrought tremendous improvement. The practice of "pooling" was forbidden, for one thing. This was the scheme by which three or four railroads running between the same cities would agree to combine all their earnings and divide them later in accordance with a fixed percentage. When such an agreement was in force, no road cared whether it served the public well or not, for it was to get just so much and no more for its service, and the public had to patronize some one of the roads in the "pool" anyway. Other laws forbade "rebating" — that is, giving back to some favored shipper a part of the money he was supposed to pay for his freight.

If you buy a dozen pairs of stockings at once, should you pay twelve times as much as for one pair? Does the same argument apply to railroad rates?

The original Interstate Commerce Commission has been enlarged in membership and given so much more power that now every change in rates and every other important act of a railroad, telegraph, telephone, express company, or similar commercial organization must have the approval of the Commission. Most of the states have laws of the same kind to deal with railroads and other public utilities companies whose business is entirely within state lines.

An unfortunate phase of the problem appears in the conflict of authority which sometimes arises between the national commission and state supervising boards. A rate, for example, authorized by a state commission may affect shipments or travel which enter into traffic in more than one state, and may be inconsistent with the rate authorized by the "I. C. C." for the whole distance. This condition needs to be remedied in some way.

But so much good has been accomplished through governmental supervision of railroads that many people believe a similar supervision of all business organizations working on an extensive scale will be undertaken before many years.

The Federal Trade Commission, which thus far is allowed to do little more than investigate and recommend, can very easily be given increased authority.

221. Our Merchant Marine. — In spite of the enormous growth of our foreign commerce in recent years, we have sometimes felt humiliated when we noticed that by far the greater part of this was carried in ships which flew other flags than the Stars and Stripes.

A Five-Master.

In Boston Harbor. We see few of these now.

To remedy this situation some people have recommended a "ship subsidy" measure — that is, that our government should give money out of our national treasury to assist companies which would carry on foreign trade under the American flag. Others have thought it was not wise to support one particular business in this way. For this and other reasons Congress has failed to accept the proposition.

A new measure of relief was undertaken by act of Congress in 1916. A United States Shipping Board was created with extensive authority to assist in the development of our commerce. A fund of $50,000,000 was authorized which could be used in the purchase of ships for use as merchant vessels in the first place, but subject to the demand of the government for service as auxiliaries to the United States Navy. Wonderful progress in shipbuilding resulted. The tonnage of American ships almost doubled in two years, and we are again second only to Great Britain.

222. Industrial Preparedness. — One outcome of the Great War was the realization that "preparedness," about which so much was said, depends as much upon the ability to employ the industries of a nation in order to get the most service from them as to have a large army and navy. The spirit of understanding and harmony between labor and capital, between one industry and another, between government and business, is of immense importance to the nation.

TWO VIEWS OF THE SAME PLANT.

The same work was being done in both cases. Industrial efficiency is not consistent with such waste as the picture at the right indicates.

Some time after the outbreak of the war a number of men prominent in the management of American industries were assembled as an advisory "National Council for Defense," to coöperate with members of the Cabinet. They went to work to find out exactly what our resources were and how they could best be brought into service. Government officials also tried to put their own departments in the possession of all information which would be useful in the same direction. A general desire was aroused to learn

how to avoid waste, to get the most out of the labor and capital that were employed, and to make it all count for the benefit of the whole nation.

If this is good in time of war, it is useful in time of peace. It is surely to be hoped that this worthy purpose may be lasting. Even if it requires centralization of authority in the national government beyond what many Americans have been wont to believe in, thoroughness, efficiency, and coöperation among all our workers in all our industries are worth the price.

To what extent are industrial changes responsible for changes in government? Does it make any difference to you personally how industry is carried on? What changes which the Great War caused in American industrial life seem likely to be permanent?

QUESTIONS

Show the importance of capital in different stages of civilization. What things constitute *capital?* What are *capital goods?* What constitutes *wealth?* When is a man wealthy?

Show the necessity of organization in business. Explain *entrepreneur; partnership; corporation.* How is a corporation managed? What advantages does each of these forms of organization have which the others do not? Relate the development of the *trust.* Why is it difficult to control it? Are there "good" and "bad" trusts?

Trace the growth of division of labor among workmen. Classify the grades of workers. Give examples in all cases. What is the effect of the tendency toward specialization?

When does a *monopoly* exist? Explain five classes of monopolies. What considerations influence a monopolist in deciding the price of his product? Is the principle of monopoly wrong? Do monopolies ever benefit the public? What has the Sherman Anti-Trust Act to do with our recent industrial history?

Define *pooling; rebate.* How far should state or national governments supervise or control railroads and "big business"?

Compare our merchant marine before the Civil War and to-day. What is the purpose of the Government Shipping Board? What, if anything, should the government do further in the matter?

Explain the meaning and importance of industrial preparedness.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Business Life of John D. Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Company.

The United States Steel Corporation.

Resolved, that the maker of a patented article should be allowed to fix its retail price and define the conditions under which it may be used.

Resolved, that the Sherman Anti-Trust law should be repealed and instead the Federal Trade Commission be given authority to control corporation activities.

Resolved, that Congress should assist private shipping firms by money grants and otherwise to build up a greater American merchant marine.

The History of the Express Business in the United States.

Resolved, that the parcel post service of the national government should take over all the business now done by the express companies.

CHAPTER XXIV

SAVING OUR NATURAL RESOURCES

We are prosperous now; we should not forget that it will be just as important to our descendants to be prosperous in their time.
— Roosevelt.

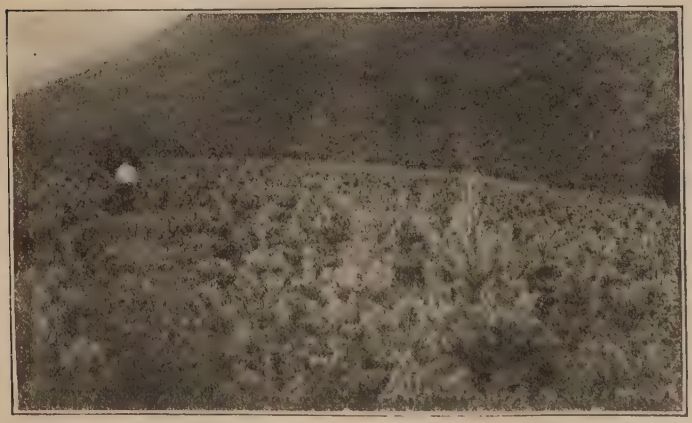
223. Importance of Natural Resources. — In explaining the three factors in production, we noted that land, as the economist calls it, is absolutely essential to every industry. Of exceptional importance, then, is the preservation of the gifts of nature from waste and wanton destruction. The *conservation of natural resources* is the term we commonly apply to this problem. Conservation means a little more than preservation. The latter refers merely to rescuing our resources from destruction, but the former includes the idea of using them wisely while they are being saved. Conservation is not a "dog in the manger" policy, as some assert.

When our forefathers came to this country they found what was perhaps the most wonderfully endowed land on the face of the earth. Fertile soil, timber, water, metals, and minerals — everything that a great country could require, except brains to use it properly. In our haste to take advantage of these gifts of nature, we seem to have followed the policy of "getting while the getting is good," with utter forgetfulness of what will happen when we have used up all our good things. There was a "get-rich-quick" spirit in the people who have worked with our natural resources which militated against carefulness and thoroughness.

The result is that we have ruined much of our splendid raw material so that neither we nor anybody else can hope to do much with it.

Make a map of the United States that will show its natural resources. What industries in your state or community depend upon natural resources? Have they been properly managed?

224. The Conservation Movement. — A few thoughtful men pondered deeply over the situation long before they



Trees Planted by the Pennsylvania Department of Forestry. Before the Great War this Department planted about 6,000,000 trees a year.

could get many people interested or induce our state and national governments to take action. Too often the selfish interests that wanted to waste and plunder our forests and mines controlled the state legislatures and would consent to no change in our policy. Besides, the mass of the people did not understand the situation.

It takes time to educate a whole people, and meantime the land-robbers were active in making the most of their opportunity. Then when the national government undertook to act, these men argued that the land was the property

of the states and it was the states' business to deal with the problem. They figured that their desire for plunder could be more easily gratified through the states than through the national government.

At the risk of being unfair to many others who have devoted much time and labor to arousing the people to protect the interests of the nation, we will name Gifford Pinchot, Theodore Roosevelt, and Charles R. Van Hise as three men to whom the nation's thanks are due more than we probably realize. Pinchot was Chief of the National Forest Service for twelve years, and not only organized it into the force for good which it is today, but worked unceasingly to present the whole question of conservation so that the people might understand it. President Roosevelt, a personal friend of Pinchot, gave the force of his mighty energy and the full backing of his presidential office to furthering the cause of conservation. No other president, and perhaps not all others together, did so much. Mr. Van Hise was the president of the University of Wisconsin, one of the institutions which try to make themselves useful to all the people. His book, "The Conservation of Natural Resources," is the most complete brief presentation of the subject in popular style which has appeared, and gives the facts so that they can be understood by every one.

GIFFORD PINCHOT.

225. Forest Conservation. — The destruction of the forests is something that the eye can observe for itself, and needs little explanation to make it understood. Once 45 per cent of the United States was wooded, but one third of that forest has been wholly cleared away. Recently we have been cutting down every year three times as much as grew up. It does not take much arithmetic to determine where

Wasteful Lumbering.

Notice how carelessly the cutting has been done and how much usable wood is being thrown away.

we shall get to if that process continues. But happily steps have been taken to save us from that peril. Chiefly by President Roosevelt over 180,000,000 acres of land, mostly in the western states, have been set apart as forest reserves to be kept under government control. A forest service employing nearly 4000 people takes care of these reserves, protecting the trees from destruction, planting new ones, and watching for forest fires. The number is not at all sufficient to do the

work as it should be done, but they have accomplished wonders.

Some of the land set apart as forest reserves is later found to be better suited for other than forest purposes. When this is discovered the land may again be thrown open for occupation. Permits are sometimes granted which allow private cattle raisers and sheep growers to feed their stock on the reserves. Some timber is sold, too, and in several ways the forest lands help to pay the expense of maintaining the forest service.

One of California's Big Trees.

In the Appalachian Highlands, as far as from New Hampshire to Georgia, a series of eastern national forests is planned. These are meant especially to be located near the headwaters of rivers, for the forests help to regulate the flow of water into the streams, so that there need not be such a destructive alternation of floods and droughts, as always follows the reckless cutting down of the trees.

More than half the states have a state forester or forest commissioner, who endeavors to promote forest conservation and assist the people in the planting and care of trees. Several states, notably New York and Pennsylvania, have extensive forest reserves of their own. Many of them co-

operate with private owners in endeavoring to prevent the ravages of forest fires.

226. Water Conservation. — Closely related to the problem of the forests is that of water conservation, for the effect of forests upon the water flow makes it essential that a policy affecting one shall not conflict with the proper management

A Flood in the Allegheny.

To prevent occurrences like this, as well as periods of low water in the summer, a system of reservoirs up the river has been proposed, to hold the surplus water and make the flow more regular.

of the other. The control of the waters so as to prevent floods is of immense importance to many sections of the country, and we are not yet sure how this can best be done in all cases.

Years ago the larger streams were very extensively employed for commerce, but, after the railroads came, water transportation gradually fell into disuse. But there are many commodities which can be carried much more cheaply

by water, and which are not perishable so that there is need of hurry in transporting them.

To revive the use of streams for navigation, there has been much discussion of plans for constructing canals around rapids and falls. Notably to make the Ohio River fit for extensive commercial use, numerous locks and dams have been constructed, with the intention of making a continuous waterway from Pittsburgh to the Gulf of Mexico. Another

Courtesy of Pennsylvania Railroad

NIAGARA FALLS.

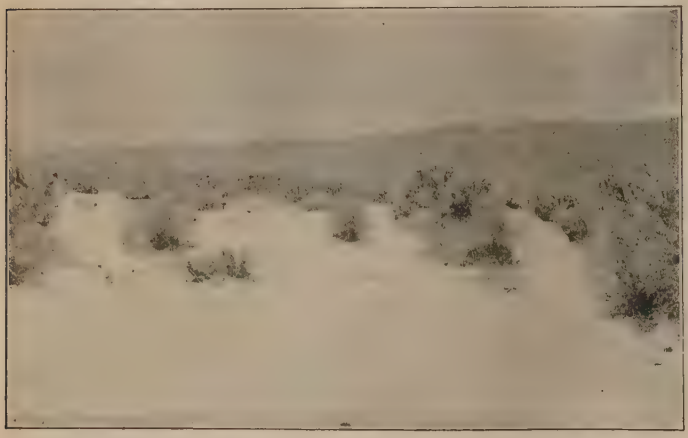
Long famous for their natural grandeur, the Falls have now been harnessed to furnish power and light. It is hoped that this will not impair their beauty.

series of canals which has been partly constructed by the states or by the national government is intended to parallel the Atlantic coast, far enough inland to be safe at all times from the ocean storms and other outside dangers.

The use of the enormous available power that is stored up in the streams is another important problem. To let so much of it go to waste is an economic crime, but it is also a crime to permit it to be used by private corporations to add riches to their own treasury and to lock up this energy

so that the nation cannot profit from the streams which belong to all the people.

It is estimated that 60 per cent of the water power of the country is already in the hands of a small group of investors and speculators. That the nation shall keep for itself the other 40 per cent would seem to be the simplest kind of common sense. One plan is to rent the use of the streams for power purposes, instead of the government's selling



THE CALIFORNIA DESERT.

Much of southern California and other parts of the West once showed nothing but scenes like this.

the privilege to the user outright and so losing control of it forever. A Federal Water Power Board composed of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Secretary of Agriculture has been created, to pass judgment on applications for the use of the water power on government lands.

227. Land Conservation. — Millions of acres of some of the richest land on the continent lie in the western deserts, waiting for the magic touch of the water. The water is waiting, too, but it has to be harnessed and turned

into proper channels to carry it where it will do the most good.

Many wonderful irrigation enterprises have been undertaken by private capital. One of the most notable of these is the system which takes the water of the Colorado River and turns it upon the Imperial Valley of California, once one of the most forbidding deserts on the continent.

The national government has also spent many millions

Irrigation Canal, Imperial Valley, California.

The water comes from the Colorado River. The region served by it is below sea level.

of dollars constructing great dams and canals for irrigation purposes. The Roosevelt Dam in Arizona, the Shoshone Dam in Wyoming, the Elephant Butte Dam in New Mexico, and several others, store up water which makes it possible to cultivate profitably many thousands of acres for each one. The occupants of land irrigated through these projects pay a sum for their water rights which is applied to the cost of operating the irrigation systems. The Reclamation Service of the national government is a branch of the Department of the Interior. California has more ir-

rigated farms than any other state, but from the Plains states to the coast every state has many of them.

A different kind of land conservation is that of the swamp lands, such as the Everglades of Florida and the lower Mississippi and the Gulf region. At an expense estimated at from $5 to $35 an acre, drainage canals can be constructed which will raise the value of the land drained by

A Street Corner in Calexico, California.

Only a few years ago this section looked like the "California Desert" on page 354. Since then the water has come. Read the story of the Imperial Valley, as told in "The Winning of Barbara Worth." Many of its characters are drawn from life.

them at least tenfold. In the entire country there are about 70,000,000 acres of this swamp land which can be made very profitable for agriculture. Surely it is good business to make use of it.

A phase of conservation which is inspired less by economic motives than by a love of nature and beauty is that which has brought about the setting aside of numerous regions as national parks. Geysers, glaciers, marvelous waterfalls, forest giants, such as are found in Yellowstone Park, Glacier

National Park in Montana, and Yosemite Park, ought never to pass into private hands to be kept for selfish profit or ruined through commercial greed. These and numerous other places of scenic or historic interest have been kept as playgrounds and wonderlands for the people. They are under the care of the Department of the Interior.

A View in the Yosemite Valley, California.

For scenes in other national parks, see pages 197, 351, 359, 434, and 462.

228. Other Conservation Problems.— Many interests along the line of conservation must be handled by the states. The frightful waste in mining coal, lead, zinc, and other metals and minerals must be reached chiefly through state control, except where they are found on government land, for until these products get into interstate commerce the federal government has little means of reaching them. Enormous amounts of coal, however, exist in Alaska, and extensive supplies of oil and other mineral products in other national lands.

What will this country do when the coal and oil are gone?

Though harsh criticism has been visited upon the government by some people for not throwing these open to private

operation, it is unquestionably wiser for the error to be made on the side of overcaution. To lease these lands, charging a royalty for each ton of coal or other product obtained from them, and insisting on careful and thorough operation, seems to be the policy best suited to get the most out of our resources to-day and to save them in the best shape for the Americans of to-morrow.

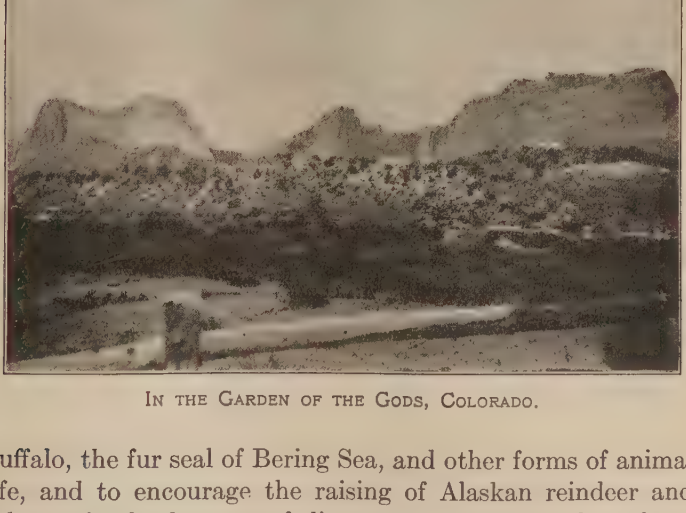
Oil Derrick.
Coleman, Texas.

229. Homestead Laws. — Our government has been extremely generous with its public land, on the theory that it was wise to get it settled as rapidly as possible. A person could get a quarter-section (160 acres) by paying very small fees, if only he occupied it five years and made improvements on it. There are still over 275,000,000 acres of public land open for occupation in this way in the United States proper, besides considerably more than that amount in Alaska. Much of this is not suitable for farming and is not attractive for "homesteaders" to occupy.

One trouble with our generosity has been the loopholes in the laws which enabled private corporations to get this land which was intended for occupation by actual settlers and then to use it for their own purposes. Great care is now taken to prevent this abuse. The government also may reserve the right to any coal or other metal or mineral found under the surface if the land has been taken for agricultural purposes.

230. Animal Life. — Conservation applies to animal life, too. Every state has its fish and game laws, to prevent the complete destruction of these living things. The federal government has established a few bird reserves in the south-

ern states for the protection of certain feathered folk, and has recently negotiated a treaty with Canada to protect migratory birds. Congress has made it a crime to transport in interstate commerce the plumes of the egret which was being rapidly hunted to death to gratify the ladies' desire for ornament. Special effort is also undertaken to save the



In the Garden of the Gods, Colorado.

buffalo, the fur seal of Bering Sea, and other forms of animal life, and to encourage the raising of Alaskan reindeer and other animals that are of direct use to man, but have been wantonly slaughtered.

What kinds of birds common in your neighborhood need special care? How can they be best protected? Should cats be licensed as dogs are?

QUESTIONS

Explain the meaning and importance of *conservation*. Why has it not received proper attention in this country? Name some of the men who have endeavored to arouse popular interest in the matter. Is it better that the state or the national government should exercise chief control over conservation policies?

What are forest reserves? Why are they needed? How are

they managed? Show the connection between forest conservation and water conservation. Discuss the importance of the use of water for transportation and for power. How can this be best controlled?

Show the importance of irrigation to the Far West. Give some examples of public and private irrigation systems. How can drainage be applied to land conservation? What and where are our national parks? Why and how are they cared for?

Explain conservation with reference to our mineral resources. What do you consider the best way to administer these resources? What purpose and method has been followed in our "homestead" laws? Should that policy be permanent? Why is conservation of animal life important? Give examples of it.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Public Services of Gifford Pinchot.
The National Forest Service.
The Reclamation Service.
What is Left of Our Public Land.
What Our State is Doing for Conservation.
The Fish and Game Laws of Our State.
Seals and Reindeer in Alaska.
The Protection of the Birds.
Coal Distribution in Peace and War.

C. Social Problems

CHAPTER XXV

THE STATE'S BURDENS

A threefold responsibility is thrown upon society, — to guard itself against the acts of the criminal, to bring home the consequences to the wrong-doer, and to prevent crime. — Wright.

The poor must be widely visited and liberally cared for, so that mendicity shall not be tempted into mendacity, nor want exasperated into crime. — Winthrop.

231. Crime and Its Classification. — It will be well for us to understand right at the start of our discussion what the word "crime" means. It means simply a disregard of law, either in doing something that the law forbids or in failing to do something that the law commands.

It may or may not be morally wrong. No moral wrong can be charged against a man for peddling vegetables from house to house, but if a city passes an ordinance requiring all peddlers to take out a license the man who sells without a license commits a crime. On the other hand, it is not usually a crime in a state that allows saloons for one man to urge another to go with him and have a drink; but if the second man is trying to break away from the liquor habit, it may be one of the most wrongful acts a person could commit to put strong temptation in his way. Yet most crimes do belong to the list of acts which society as a whole thinks should not be performed.

Naturally there are grades of crime. Very serious violations of law are often called *felonies*, and may be punished

by terms of imprisonment, and sometimes by a fine in addition. Less serious offenses are commonly known as *misdemeanors*, and are punishable by a small fine or a short term of imprisonment.

For convenience we sometimes attempt to classify crimes into a few groups. The following will serve as one grouping:

(1) *Crimes against the state and public order.* These include such acts as treason, which is really an effort to undermine the government; riot, which is a willful disturbance of the peace by a body of persons acting in unison; and counterfeiting, which is imitation of the money issued by the government.

(2) *Crimes against public health and decency.* Under this head come bigamy, that is, having two wives at once; blasphemy, vulgar or irreverent reference to God; and keeping a nuisance, that is, any place grossly offensive to a community's sense of neatness or morals.

(3) *Crimes against the person.* Murder, the deliberate, intentional killing of a person; manslaughter, the taking of life not with previous intention, but because of inexcusable carelessness or neglect; assault, personal attack by one upon another — these are examples of this class.

(4) *Crimes against property.* In this list are found burglary, the breaking into a building in order to steal; arson, the intentional destruction of property by fire; and embezzlement, the taking for personal use of property intrusted to a person to care for.

Of course these are only examples of a long list of acts which the law considers as crimes. This list does not include, either, the great number of wrongs known as *torts*, to which the state pays no attention unless the person who is wronged brings the affair into court. This class of cases includes such acts as slander, libel, and breaking of contracts.

The total number of crimes committed we can only guess at. Every year about 500,000 jail or prison sentences are imposed for a longer or shorter period, but this does not

represent all of the crimes committed. Some criminals are let off without a sentence, some are merely fined, and many are not caught at all. Not so many brutal crimes occur as were common years ago, but forgery and other crimes requiring skill, cunning, or deceit are more numerous than formerly.

232. Causes of Crime. — "One point must still be greatly dark, the moving why they do it," said the poet Burns. It is not always possible to explain the reason for the commission of a crime, but as we survey a large number of cases certain conditions appear to have affected a considerable number of persons. These may be grouped as individual and social.

One *individual* cause is heredity. It has been proved beyond doubt that the tendency to commit crime runs in some families and seems to be inherited just as looks or size may be. Lack of education or training, which keeps a person ignorant of the law or allows him to do improper acts because he knows no better, is another reason which applies to many criminals. A vast majority of criminals are uneducated.

Bad habits, such as the use of liquor or drugs, sometimes get men into a condition where they commit crimes without realizing it at the time. They may also arouse passions which are hard to control while at the same time they have weakened a person's will power so that it is hard for him to resist temptation. Idleness, lack of regular employment, and incompetency to carry on any trade or business are responsible for other people's straying from the path of right.

The list of *social* conditions which help to produce crime is long. Of these, home surroundings doubtless affect more than any other one cause. A boy or girl brought up in a family where no attention is paid to teaching a child what is right and what is wrong is very likely not to make any distinctions of that kind in dealing with other people. The recreations and amusements indulged in by persons

young or old may be responsible for their obedience or disobedience to law. A frequenter of gambling joints, saloons, cheap "movies," public dance halls, and the like, is apt to become associated with men or scenes whose influence is ruinous, and may sooner or later become a criminal.

When hard times prevail and many are out of work, there are many instances of stealing and similar crimes in order to obtain things which a person has not the money to pay for. As the old saying had it, "Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do." Many a person has got into trouble because there was nothing to hold his attention and keep his mind occupied.

Courtesy of National Child Labor Committee

AN UNPROFITABLE PASTIME.

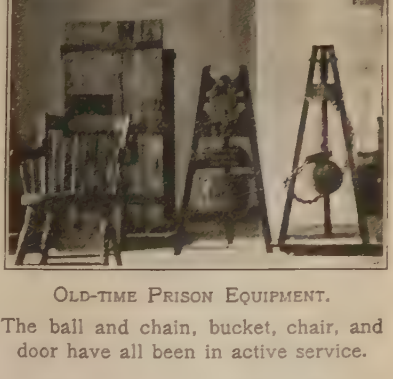
The newsboy's occupation brings him into contact with countless undesirable conditions.

A low standard of public sentiment in a community also conduces to the commission of crime. If certain laws are openly violated, or if only a half-hearted effort is made to enforce any laws, crime will naturally flourish. Public officers will generally do what a community wants them to do. It is hard to enforce laws, too, which a large number of people do not believe in. Yet the mere fact that some men think a law is unwise does not by any means prove that one has a right to disobey it.

Rank the causes of crime in what you consider their relative seriousness.

233. Treatment of Criminals. — Nowhere in the relations of men with one another has a more remarkable change taken place in the last century than in the way we act toward the criminal. Once "his hand was against every

man's, and every man's hand against him." The spirit of revenge seemed to be the motive for dealing with the criminal. He had wronged society; therefore society would get back at him. It was the "eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth" principle. For scores of offenses the penalty was death, and the life in prisons was sometimes even worse than death.



OLD-TIME PRISON EQUIPMENT.
The ball and chain, bucket, chair, and door have all been in active service.

A less objectionable attitude was that which felt that society ought to protect its members from the harm and evil influence of the criminal, and therefore should put him in prison where his evil influence could not harm other people. For a long time, too, the idea was common that by making penalties heavy enough we could scare people from committing crime.

None of these methods took into account the criminal himself or allowed a chance for him to get a new start after he had once gone wrong. This object, the reformation of the offender, and the prevention of crime by removing conditions which produce it, are two cardinal features of present treatment of the problem of crime.

Society must always protect itself against the hardened criminal. It is a sickly sentimentality which assumes that the criminal's environment and not himself are always to be blamed. But every possible encouragement should be given to the fallen man or woman who wants to begin over again and to do the right thing by the community which affords him a chance to earn his living.

And so criminals are sometimes let out on *probation* — that is, as long as they do right no punishment will be inflicted

for some crime which has been committed. The *indeterminate sentence* is becoming common. This is not imposed for a definite period, but permits the offender to be released after a while, on his *parole*, or promise to obey the laws. Then if he does not keep his promise he can be brought back to serve a longer period. Or if he does not behave properly during his first imprisonment, he will not be given his freedom until the end of the longer term. In the majority of prisons nowadays some attempt is made to give a man the chance to improve himself while he is there and to treat him as if he were still a human being, even though he had done wrong and been caught at it.

CELL CORRIDOR IN A COUNTY WORKHOUSE.

In this wing of the building are 504 concrete cells, each provided with toilet, wash basin, clothes rack, book shelf, seat, table, and bed. An automatic locking device makes it possible to lock all the cells in this row at once.

Can you imagine how you would feel if you were in the criminal's place?

But just as important as the fair treatment of the criminal, yes, even more important, is the removal of the conditions that produce crime. It is sending good money after bad to give a criminal the opportunity to wash up and put on clean clothes, and ask him if he does not want to live a better life, if the slum district from which he may have come is breeding scores more just like him.

Improvement of home conditions among the poor and in the tenement districts, the opening of playgrounds, libraries, and other places where people can get wholesome amusement and recreation, and the efforts to provide a man with a job if he wants to work, are very practical steps that must help to relieve the seriousness of the problem of the criminal. But, like the poor, he is always with us, and we must try to save him and to save ourselves from him, if society itself is to be preserved.

Do you believe in the death penalty for murderers?

State Prison, Windsor, Vermont.

The buildings are not particularly new, but are well kept. The inmates are allowed considerable liberty, in spite of the barred windows. They publish a newspaper.

234. Institutions for the Criminal. — Once it was the custom to treat in exactly the same way everybody who was sent to prison. All ages, men and women alike, were thrown into pens or dungeons that were not fit for the lowest animal, and given nothing to do except meditate on further crimes.

We do things better now in most states of the Union, although in some places there is still much to be desired. Those who are sentenced to imprisonment for long terms, or who are supposed to be hardened offenders, are usually sent to a *state prison* or *penitentiary*. Younger criminals are sent to institutions known as *reformatories*. The name indicates that those who go there are supposed to be placed under influences that will help them to do better; but too often the deviltry which a young scamp has not learned

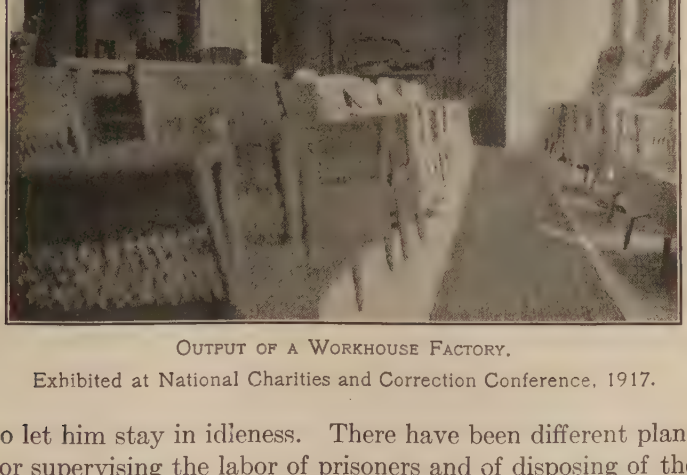
Massachusetts State Reformatory for Women.
Sherborn, Massachusetts.

before he enters he will be familiar with before he graduates from the institution. Those who are held in prison to await trial are commonly kept in a *county jail*, and those who are sentenced to short terms of imprisonment are confined in the jail or in an establishment called a *workhouse*.

Under the influence of such men as Thomas M. Osborne of New York, public interest has been strongly turned toward the improvement of sanitary conditions in prisons and toward such a treatment of the inmates as will not deprive them of whatever of self-respect may remain to them. We wish to give them every chance to be better men and

women when they leave. Some believe that such efforts may be too sentimental and may offer so many privileges that there will cease to be any disgrace or call for repentance connected with a prison sentence. But no doubt we can afford occasionally to make the opposite kind of mistake from that which we have been making for centuries.

235. Convict Labor. — What the inmate of a prison or reformatory shall do while he is there is a troublesome question. To put him at almost any kind of work is better than



Output of a Workhouse Factory.
Exhibited at National Charities and Correction Conference, 1917.

to let him stay in idleness. There have been different plans for supervising the labor of prisoners and of disposing of the goods they make. Sometimes the state has leased the services of its prisoners as if they were so many slaves and put them to work for the contractor who would offer the best bid for them. Sometimes the contractor has simply obtained their labor during the working hours of the day, leaving them for the rest of the time under the control of the state authorities.

More often the state itself provides the machines and raw material needed to make brooms, carpets, chairs, or some-

thing else, and sells the product itself like any other manufacturer. It is becoming the custom to credit the workman with something in the way of pay, which he may use to obtain little extras for his own use in prison or receive in money when he leaves. In a number of states the state uses the prison-made goods itself, and often employs the convicts at building roads or doing some other healthful outdoor work.

Sometimes the honor system has been carried so far that road gangs have been left alone for considerable periods with nothing but their own honor or the fear of being caught to prevent them from running away. More and more the states are locating their prisons in the country, where conditions particularly favor good health and relief from temptation.

Labor unions are strongly opposed to putting convict-made goods on the market along with those made outside of prisons. Do you think this attitude is reasonable?

We are thinking much more than we once did of what the convict is to do after he gets out. Formerly when he left prison he was given a suit that fitted him about like a kimono, and was turned out into the world with every phase of his appearance suggesting that he had been a "jailbird." Few employers cared to hire such laborers. But now the best prison wardens try to keep in touch with the men who have left their care, to help them get work, and to give them advice and counsel at any time. Private societies exist also for the purpose of helping the ex-convict to a job and a new start in life.

236. Juvenile Courts. — In nothing is the new attitude toward crime more evident than in the treatment of children who do wrong. Instead of bringing the cases of young offenders into the same court as those of older criminals, they are handled privately and quietly before a special judge who takes a personal interest in this kind of work. Special probation officers investigate the home life of the wayward child, and they frequently find that it is well for the child to be taken out of the control of his parents. The

officers also keep watch of a child who, after being brought before the judge, has been allowed to go free under a promise to avoid wrongdoing.

Methods like this do wonders to prevent the child from ruining his whole life by continuing in bad surroundings or by remaining under the influence of evil associates. If the child who thinks that nobody cares for him and that he might just as well not try to make anything of himself finds a judge or probation officer who is really interested in his welfare, more often than not he will respond heartily and try his best to earn confidence from them in his honesty and ambition to make good.

We are not certain to whom should go the credit for starting this promising improvement. Probably the most famous juvenile judge is Ben B. Lindsey of Denver. It will not be long before most of the states adopt this eminently wise and practical plan of preventing crime by keeping boys and girls from becoming criminals.

How much can be done by schools, individuals, or other private agencies to help along this line?

237. Poverty and Its Causes. — "The poor ye have always with you," said Jesus nearly two thousand years ago. Frightfully true were those words in the land where they were spoken and in every other ancient country. No less true are they to-day. With all our fine clothes and automobiles and millionaires, there are probably at least 15,000,000 people in the United States who are not properly supplied with those things necessary to keep them in sound health and simple comfort.

Such a condition is what we mean by the word "poverty." One third of this group belong in the class called "paupers" — that is, they receive help in some form from the government of city or state. These are not all in public almshouses — only 84,000 were found there when the census of 1910 was taken. The rest of the 5,000,000 were helped in their own homes.

We may reasonably ask why all this want and woe exist. In studying this interesting but pathetic subject we find often that we cannot point to one cause and say there is the blame. Even with a single person several influences may have combined to put him where he is at any particular time. It is possible, however, to distinguish three general groups of causes, which we may call physical, individual, and social.

The *physical* causes are those which are not due to any human agency. They may reduce thousands to poverty for a little while, but are not at work all the time. The San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906, the Dayton flood of 1913, are examples of great catastrophes which were hard in the extreme while they lasted, but which did not inflict permanent distress upon any great number of the people who suffered from them. A plague of grasshoppers or army-worms may make the farmers in an entire section of the country feel the pinch of want for a season, but they come only once in several years.

The *individual* causes are much more likely to operate year after year. If the wage earner in a family is laid up for a long time because of sickness or accident, he and his family are deprived of his wages while he is sick. Then, in trying to pay doctor's bills, to return money that was borrowed when none was coming in from work, and to catch up financially with other families again, they have labors worse than those of Hercules, for the strength of the worker may never again be what it was before he was sick or hurt.

Some others are always poor because they do not know how to handle money. When they get a cent, they spend it, perhaps for some extravagance or unnecessary pleasure. Others make foolish ventures in business or permit themselves to be defrauded by a sharper in a get-rich-quick game. Some are mentally incompetent to do anything in a first-class manner. And some poverty is due just to plain laziness or unwillingness to work.

Bad habits are also a prolific cause of poverty. One who frequents poolrooms or other places of amusement carried on for profit and one who indulges regularly and extensively in tobacco or liquor may use a large part of his entire income on these unnecessary and usually detrimental objects. No other one cause is to blame for so much poverty as intemperance. From 25 to 50 per cent of all poverty almost everywhere can be traced with some directness to this source.

WHY SOME PEOPLE ARE POOR.

The *social* causes are those which proceed from the general conditions of life in a community. If the wages paid are low and if the workmen lose much time because they are at work for only a few hours in a day or a few days in a month, they and their families will find it hard to get along. A change in the methods of carrying on an industry may throw thousands out of work. The conditions in which workmen live may be unhealthful and produce sickness or other evil effects which in their turn result in poverty. Great misfortunes like a financial panic or war bring poverty in their wake to thousands who in ordinary times are per-

fectly able to keep themselves and those dependent upon them in comfort.

Which of the causes of poverty appear to affect your community most?

238. Methods of Relief. — The best way to get rid of poverty is to get rid of the conditions which cause it, when that can be done. If wars were at an end, if saloons were

A Salvation Army Dinner for the Children.

Thanksgiving and Christmas are made memorable for the poor as well as the rich by occasions like this.

closed forever, if slums were wiped from the face of the earth, much poverty would disappear along with them. The intelligent effort to relieve poverty gives much thought to this phase of the problem, instead of trying merely to cure the individual who is suffering. But no foresight can prevent an earthquake and no knowledge that we now have can prevent storms and grasshoppers. In some conditions poverty will always exist to some degree, and we shall have to try to make it less destructive of health and happiness.

Over two phases of this problem there has been sharp difference of opinion. Should private individuals or societies feed and cure and clothe the poor, or should the municipal or state government do the work? Should the help that is given be limited to establishing poorhouses and other charitable institutions and requiring those who are helped to live there, or should the poor be helped in their own homes? The former method is often called indoor relief and the latter

Reading Room in Dawes Hotel.

Clean and cheap lodging is furnished to men like these, and they are encouraged to keep above the "down-and-out" class.

outdoor relief. Very likely all of these forms of help will need to be employed to some extent, for the conditions under which poverty occurs are by no means the same with every person or family.

One thing is certain: giving aid to people who really do not need it may produce far more harm than good. It may take away from them the energy and enterprise which all ought to have and impose an unfair burden on those who try to provide for their own needs. Help should always be

of the kind that is really needed. If a family is starving, it is better to give them food than money, lest they spend some of it for going to the "movies." If they are sick, it is better to pay a doctor to go and see them than to hand the family five or ten dollars.

Long experience has proved that the best results can be obtained from charity only when all charitable societies work together. That is why in many cities organizations called Associated Charities or United Charities are formed, and why these private charitable societies should work in harmony with city or state boards of charities. If coöperative work is not done, the same individuals or families may receive help from several sources, and while pretending to be poor may live in great comfort. At the same time worthy poor people may be entirely overlooked because they lack the effrontery of others who put themselves in the way of the charity workers.

But with a capable central organization it is possible to refer each case to the organization which is best suited to deal with it. Investigation can be made to determine whether help is really needed and what kind is most called for. Something can be accomplished, too, toward helping a poor family to live better, and perhaps a job can be secured for some one who is out of work.

If you have had any experience with work done among the poor, do you think they appreciate it?

239. The Settlement House. — One very effective means of bringing light and pleasure and progress into the poor districts of our large cities is the settlement house. This may be the gift of some wealthy man or be founded through the combined generosity of many people. Gymnasiums, entertainment halls, choruses, classes in sewing, cooking, or the "book" subjects, are here offered to young and old alike. Some one or two workers generally live in the house all the time, but always a great opportunity is offered for

voluntary service on the part of any who are interested in playing the "good Samaritan."

Those who work there are brought to understand the needs of the poor as they could learn them nowhere else, and giver and receiver alike are helped. Hull House in Chicago, conducted by Miss Jane Addams, is perhaps the most widely known of all establishments of this kind, but there are now nearly 500 of them, scattered through all the large cities of the land.

240. Public Charitable Institutions. — The town, the city, and the county do most of the work of caring for the poor and unfortunate, as far as this is done by the government. Most of the larger towns in New England keep a "poor farm," where the destitute ones who have no friends or relatives to care for them are sent. Cheerless places these usually are, though if a warden or matron happens to feel that in rendering this service some real Christian work is being done, even a town farm can be kept tidy and comfortable. Outside of New England it is common for the county to take over this duty, except that the large cities have an institution to care for their own poor.

It was once the custom to put the old, the pauper, the epileptic, the feeble-minded, the insane, and the lazy all in the same place, and to treat them all with about an equal amount of neglect. Such inhumanity has now almost disappeared. At least insane and poor are kept in different parts of the institution, and the children are kept away from both. Much of the work about an establishment of this kind can be done by the inmates, even by the insane. In this way the expenses of operation are kept down and the inmates themselves are better off for having some healthful employment.

Children who have no homes are sometimes kept in public institutions, but an effort is often made to find real homes for them. We can say with pleasure that this is done much better than formerly, and that it is unusual now to find one

like the "bound children" of years ago, who had to be veritable slaves to some close-fisted farmer or factory manager until they were 18 or 21 years old.

To what degree of relationship does any obligation exist to support a sick or poor relative? Do you think a child brought up in an orphan asylum gets a good training for life?

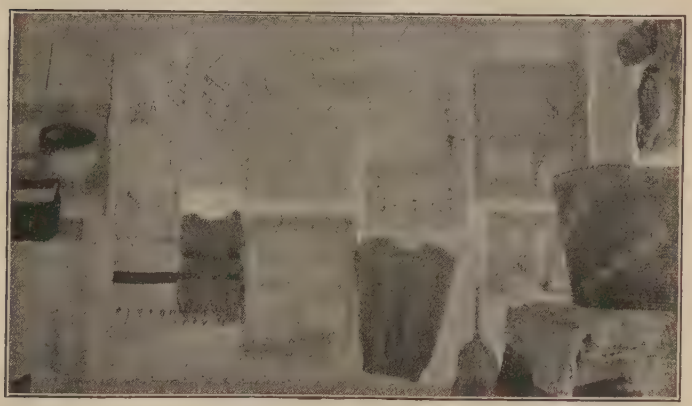
In most of the states there is a state board of charities which has a general right to inspect the poorhouses and hospitals of the state. Especially if the state maintains them or gives money from the state treasury to help support them, they must be conducted in a way to please the state board.

Learning a Trade.

To relieve the poverty and distress caused by loss of time through accidents, many states have passed *workmen's compensation* acts, which, as we have said, provide that when a workman is injured while at work his employer must pay him a certain sum during the time he is laid off. Special referees are needed who consider claims under the laws and decide whether they are justified.

A number of states also have passed *mother's pension* laws. The principle of these is that the mother who has spent her time and energy raising her children should not be forced to go to the poorhouse in her old age or have her family broken up if she is unable to provide for them all properly. When a mother in such circumstances shows her need, she may get a small sum per week for herself and her small children. General old age pension laws and compulsory insurance acts such as some European countries have, are frequently proposed in this country but have not yet been enacted by any state.

241. Care of Dependents. — Before the beginning of the last century, both in the Old World and in America very little attention was paid to the care and cure of the feeble-minded, insane, or otherwise helpless persons. Those whose condition made them more or less violent were put into the common jails or workhouses. Those who were harmless were allowed to wander aimlessly about as



Work of Insane Patients.

Many of them have more than ordinary skill along certain lines. These articles were exhibited at the National Charities and Correction Conference, 1917.

village curiosities and the butt of all kinds of pranks, eking out a miserable existence by begging or by other precarious means.

But gradually municipalities began to care for them, each one doing what it pleased. As time went on the work spread to the county and from the county to the state. Now the greater part of the burden rests upon the state. Either the state owns institutions to care for the helpless ones or appropriates money from its treasury to private institutions which are willing to put themselves under state inspection in return for the money.

Find out what proceedings are necessary to put an insane person in an asylum. If he claims to be sane, can he do anything to secure a release? Illustrate from the case of Harry Thaw.

The dependents may be divided into the poor, the sick, and the defectives. The defectives in turn include the insane, the feeble-minded, the epileptic, the blind, and the deaf and dumb.

Choir in the Perkins Institute for the Blind, Watertown, Massachusetts.

The last two classes have only recently been cared for by the state, but wonders have been accomplished for them. Books with raised letters for the blind, and new methods of instruction for the deaf, have made it possible for some of them to obtain almost as much education and get almost as much pleasure out of life as their more fortunate brothers and sisters.

242. The Feeble-minded. — Most people have needed a long time to discover that insane and feeble-minded people are not alike and need quite different treatment. The

insane are those who once possessed at least ordinary natural mental powers, but through some affliction have lost them, wholly or partly. The feeble-minded never had normal mental ability. In this class are the idiot, who never knows any more than a two-year-old baby, the imbecile, whose talents are like those of children from three to seven years old, and the moron, whose brains never get beyond the child of twelve.

Careful treatment can make something out of some of these defectives, if they are kept under proper guardianship, and insane people may regain their senses. But one thing we are sure of — the best place for most of the defectives is in homes or institutions where special care can be given to their needs and where they can be kept from harming others.

The studies of men like Dr. Goddard of Vineland, N. J., where such an institution is located, prove beyond question the curse of allowing the feeble-minded to live unguarded like ordinary persons. He writes of a Revolutionary soldier whom he calls Major Kallikak. This man married twice, one wife being of normal powers and the other feeble-minded. Of 436 descendants from the normal wife, not one has been a defective or a criminal; but of 430 descendants from the feeble-minded wife, 143 are known to have been mentally defective and only 46 are known to have been normal.

In the schools and elsewhere tests invented by students of psychology are now frequently employed, and when a child is discovered who is in some degree a defective he is at once placed in the care of physicians and teachers who try to give him the special care which he requires. In the whole country it is estimated that there are 300,000 feeble-minded persons, not one tenth of whom are at present properly cared for.

See if you can find out about the "Juke" family. What are the Binet-Simon tests? What is your state doing for the different types of dependents?

243. Tramps. — One class of loafers who are a nuisance to any community are the tramps or "hoboes." Why they are unwilling to earn their own living instead of expecting other people to support them is often a mystery. They do not deserve the care that the ordinary inmate of a public institution should receive, for they are usually strong physically and perfectly able to look out for themselves. When business conditions are bad, no doubt some men are forced either to die from starvation or to steal or beg for food, but thousands of "hoboes" in this country make no attempt to get a job, glorying in making the community feed them.

Municipal Lodging-house, New York.

How would you enjoy their kind of life?

Most of them commit no serious crimes, but nevertheless nobody wants them around. Constables and chiefs of police, not knowing what else to do, sometimes just order them to move on to the next town. Cleveland and a few other places have made use of a municipal stone quarry or brickyard and forced the tramps to work there if they stayed in the neighborhood and expected anything to eat. The job is usually vacant in a day or two.

Is it wise or desirable to give a "hand-out" to the beggar who comes to your kitchen door, or money to the blind man who plays an old accordion or hand-organ at the street corner?

244. The Liquor Traffic. — The staggering sum of over $2,000,000,000 has been spent in this country every year for intoxicating liquor. If we could just turn that all into the federal treasury for a year we could wipe out the national debt, as it was in 1916, leave a very comfortable surplus in the treasury to go ahead with, and be infinitely better off physically and morally. We spent almost four times as much for liquor as on all the public schools of the country. Without it our expenses for jails, poorhouses, insane asylums, and other such institutions would be far less, homes would be happier, children better cared for, and everything good uplifted beyond reckoning.

Why did we not get rid of it? Because some people were in the habit of drinking and would not stop. Because other people say that it is a man's own business and not the state's whether he drinks or not. Because money paid for saloon licenses went into the treasury of city, county, state, and nation and made some people believe that our government would go bankrupt without it. Because the liquor interests were solidly banded together and well organized. They knew what they wanted, what candidates would support their policies, and they wasted no votes in an election.

Yet every intelligent person, even if he uses or sells intoxicating liquor, knows what a curse the unrestricted sale of it would be. In some sections even the liquor dealers of the better type coöperated with the officials in trying to close up saloons which broke the law. But such cases were all too rare and generally came about through the fear that something worse would happen to the business if it did not clean itself up at least partly.

245. Means of Control. — Four methods of keeping the liquor business under control of the state have been tried in this country, and even those who were opposed to the liquor business have not always agreed as to which is the best.

(1) The *dispensary system*, or Gothenburg system, has been much used in the Scandinavian peninsula, and appears

to have had good results there. Only one state in our union, however, has tried it — South Carolina — and that state has given it up. The idea is that all liquor shall be sold only in bottles at places carried on by an agent of the state itself.

The places for its sale are absolutely without adornment or attractiveness, and therefore are less likely to be used for loafing-places, for no liquor may be drunk on the premises. But this plan makes the state itself a partner in the business and a sharer of its profits. Such a state of affairs is unpleasant to the tender conscience of many. Besides, it is only a shade better for a man to get drunk at home than in a place where he can be in the society of others like himself.

(2) The most common method of regulation was that of the *license system*. Only persons having a license from the government were permitted to engage in the business, and if the fee was rather high the number of saloons would be cut down. Some states forbade more than one saloon to each 500 or 1000 persons in a city or township, while others gave a license to anybody who would pay the fee.

A bad feature of this plan was that voters got into the notion that this license money was needed to carry on the government, and were not willing to do anything to reduce the sale of liquor for fear of losing revenue. The fact is, of course, that the extra police, court trials, care of poor and the like, caused by the licensed saloon, far more than offset the revenue from licenses.

Shall license be granted for sale of intoxicating liquors in this town?
Yes ☐ No ☐

Shall licenses of the fifth class be granted in this town?
Yes ☐ No ☐

The voter shall make a cross (X) against the answer he desires to give.

A Local Option Ballot.

(3) *Local option* is the name given to the plan of allowing each township and city, or each county, to decide by popular vote whether saloons shall be licensed within its limits. Some states, as Massachusetts and Vermont, voted in this way every year.

This has the advantage of making each community responsible for its own liquor policy, and if a city votes against the saloon, the laws are likely to be better enforced than if the "dry" policy was forced on the community by the vote of other sections of the state. It was frequently ineffective, however, because of the ease with which a man could take a trolley ride to the next town or county and get drunk or bring home all he wanted to carry.

(4) *Prohibition* is the term commonly used when a state refuses to allow saloons to be opened anywhere within its borders. Except on the borders of the state, it is not open to the objection offered against the local option plan, and removes the corrupting influence of depending upon license money for revenue.

It is sometimes hard to enforce in large cities or in communities where a large part of the people want to use liquor as a beverage. But it removes the temptation connected with the open saloon, and the violence with which the liquor dealers always opposed prohibition shows that it must interfere seriously with the amount that is sold. A recent law of Congress which forbade the shipment of liquor for drinking purposes into a prohibition state helped greatly to make such a state "bone dry" in reality.

Why are country communities usually more favorable to prohibition than cities?

246. General Results and Conclusions about the Liquor Problem. — A century ago almost everybody drank liquor to some extent. Now by an amendment to the national Constitution we have made our country officially "dry," and gained the distinction of being the first nation to try this self-discipline. The state of Maine was the first to adopt state-wide prohibition, about the middle of the nineteenth century, and several other northern states tried prohibition for a while in the same period. It was a kind of moral reform that swept over the country along with the sentiment against slavery.

Gradually, as more immigrants entered the country, and because the prohibition laws were not very well enforced and the moral sentiment of the North became less keen, most of the states which had adopted prohibition abandoned it. Only Maine held to it continuously. Among the other states of the Union Kansas is next to Maine in the length of time it has had prohibition.

In the early years of the present century a new prohibition movement got under way, which ultimately became a tidal wave in its sweep and steadiness. It began in the South, and finally embraced every state south of the Potomac and east of the Mississippi. The far West and the middle West also fell into the prohibition line with surprising eagerness.

Thirty-four states and, in addition, Alaska and Porto Rico had, or were soon to become legally "dry" by their own vote at the time the national amendment was ratified. Sometimes this was done simply by law, either by the legislature alone or with the approval of a popular referendum. But the tendency was to strengthen such an act by putting prohibition into the state constitution soon afterward. Saloons were also abolished in the District of Columbia and Hawaii by act of Congress.

The new prohibition movement has not been founded on sentiment so much as the one of 60 and 70 years ago, although a moral impulse is by no means lacking. But business houses and the great railroads in all parts of the country have come to the conclusion that as a business proposition the saloon does not pay, and that conviction has played a mighty part in the great reform.

To remove the objection that persons who have invested money in the liquor business should not lose it all by a sudden abolition of it, the plan was frequently followed of allowing a year or two to pass between the adoption of prohibition and the time when it should take effect. Breweries could then be turned into ice factories, for example, and the

ordinary saloon-keeper could easily plan to take up some other business.

Since there would always be trouble about enforcing prohibition as long as some states continued to produce liquor generously, the friends of prohibition next set to work for the adoption of a prohibition amendment to the constitution of the United States. Spurred by sentiment aroused by the Great War, Congress passed laws under which the use of grain in making distilled liquors and beer was forbidden, and in December, 1917, agreed to lay a constitutional amendment before the states, establishing prohibition throughout the country. It carried the proviso that it must be ratified within seven years or else it would not go into effect. The response of the states was almost startling. In a little over a year the work was done, and in January, 1919, the proclamation was issued from the office of the Secretary of State announcing that the necessary number of state legislatures had approved the amendment.

Next comes the problem of enforcement. The amendment gives " concurrent power " to Congress and the states for this purpose. Since the prohibition applies only to the use of liquor as a beverage, evasions of the restriction are likely to be frequent for a time. No sensible person would expect that all harmful use of liquor could immediately be stopped. But it is the almost invariable experience that when the saloons close arrests for drunkenness and most other crimes diminish to a remarkable degree. Jails and poorhouses become almost or quite empty. Savings bank deposits increase, bills are more promptly paid, and more money is spent for the comforts and conveniences which help rather than hurt the users. One must think poorly of the American people who would suggest, as some have done, that the number of " dope-fiends " would alarmingly increase or that men would long refuse to work because they could not get liquor.

It is true that the national government, as well as several

states, counties, and cities, received revenue from liquor licenses. But in the readjustment of our tax systems made necessary by the enormous expenses of the Great War, this matter will probably adjust itself without causing any serious difficulties. The saving in the expense of law-enforcement and the maintenance of public institutions is of itself no small item. That the United States has so speedily taken this step toward making this a cleaner and better country is an accomplishment of which we may well be proud.

QUESTIONS

Distinguish the difference between sin, vice, and crime. Classify crimes with reference to degree and to nature. Give examples and definitions under each class. How many criminals are there in the country?

What are the principal causes of crime? Who deserves more blame when crime occurs, the criminal or the community in which he lives? What is the proper motive that should control us in dealing with law-breakers? What are some of the ways by which we secure for the criminal the chance to lead a better life? If we are to prevent crime, what else than the criminal needs attention?

What kinds of institutions are criminals placed in? What should they be allowed or required to do while there? Explain different forms of convict labor. Which of these do you consider to be desirable? What can be done to help discharged prisoners? What are juvenile courts? What are the reasons for their existence?

How many paupers and poor people could be found in the United States to-day? How far-reaching is the problem of poverty? Classify the causes which produce it? As with crime, which is chiefly responsible, the individual or society in general? What causes are most common?

Distinguish between indoor and outdoor relief. Which is better? Why are organizations like the Associated Charities desirable? Describe the work of the settlement house. Can poverty be prevented? Why? What is a "poor farm"? How should the inmates be cared for? On what principle do "workmen's compensation" and "mothers' pension" acts rest? How should tramps be dealt with? How far should state governments take any responsibility for the care of the poor?

Distinguish between delinquents, dependents, and defectives. What is the difference between the insane and the feeble-minded? Contrast the treatment formerly given to these people with that which they receive to-day. Why is it important that they should receive special care?

Why did our national government and some of our states license the sale of liquor? Why was the country worse off for having saloons? What was there about the business that made it any more necessary to control than other businesses? Explain four methods which have been used in the United States to restrain the liquor business. Compare the extent of the use of liquor years ago and to-day. Sketch the history of the prohibition movement in this country. Trace the steps by which a "dry" nation was finally obtained. Do you anticipate any difficulties in the enforcement of prohibition?

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Work of Thomas M. Osborne.

Resolved, that the honor system should be introduced in all institutions for criminals.

Judge Lindsey and the Juvenile Court. (If your community has one, study its work.)

A Modern Prison.

The Maintenance and Operation of the Poorhouse. (Study your own if possible.)

Resolved, that the moving-picture theatre does more harm than good.

Experiences in Social Service Work.

The Training of the Blind, the Deaf, and the Dumb.

The Care of the Insane and the Feeble-minded.

The Effect of the Great War on the Liquor Business.

The Anti-Saloon League.

CHAPTER XXVI

AMERICA, THE "MELTING POT"

America! thou half-brother of the world!
With something good and bad from every land. — *Bailey.*

Who serves his country well has no need of ancestors. — *Voltaire.*

247. Where Did We Come From? — A noted writer once referred to the United States as the melting pot into which all races and tongues in the world are cast, so that out of them might be made a new nation, with qualities derived from all who form a part of it. Some one may remark, too, that with the exception of the Indian, we are all immigrants, for our ancestors came from some part of Europe.

Very true that is, yet it may be misleading. There is a great difference between a group of immigrants who know the laws and customs and speak the language of the people with whom they associate, and the immigrants who are used to such different ideas, methods of life, and habits that they cannot for some time form a part of the community into which they come.

The people who settled along the Atlantic coast in colonial days were enough alike in language, customs, and ideals, so that there was little difficulty in their forming one social group. For over half a century after the Revolution the number of immigrants was very small. The wonderful westward expansion that went on so rapidly during that time was a movement of Americans from one part to another of their own country.

But toward the middle of the last century a tremendous new movement started. The failure for some years of the potato crop in Ireland and the downfall of the movement for liberal government in Germany, along with other causes, induced many hundreds of thousands of people from those countries to come to the United States in the expectation of bettering their conditions. A little later an extensive immigration from Norway and Sweden took place.

Courtesy of National Child Labor Committee

An Immigrant Family in the Beet Fields of Colorado.
Observe the sod house in which they live.

Often the term, "the old immigration," is used to distinguish this wave of immigrants from "the new immigration" of the last few decades. The old immigrants, as you observe, all came from northern or western Europe. Whether from England, Ireland, Germany, Scandinavia, or France, most of them fitted readily into the life and customs of America.

But the new immigration is different. It comes largely from southern Italy, Austria, Poland, and Russia, from countries whose standard of living is far below that of the United States. The immigrants work for less than native

Americans can live on decently; they are clannish and stay by themselves; they have no idea of what democracy and self-government mean; and many of them have no intention of staying here permanently, but plan to go back after a few years and live at ease the rest of their days. The outbreak of the great European war halted this movement, and only time can tell whether it will be resumed in equal numbers.

In 1910 one person in seven living in the United States was born abroad. More of these came from Germany than from any other one country, but already Russia and Austria have sent so many that they rank second and third. Taking the immigrants in recent years, we find that 75 per cent of the whole number were from southern and eastern Europe.

Trace your own "family tree" as far back as you can. Let the teacher add these together and see how large a percentage of each nationality is represented in your class for three or four generations back.

248. Why Do They Come? — In the days when America was new, there were three main reasons that caused men and women to try their fortunes in the New World — poor opportunities for earning a living, tyranny of rulers, and religious persecution. To-day, just as three hundred years ago, the same impulses are at work. The wages paid everywhere in Europe are much lower than in this country. The laborer over there may be living in fair comfort, for everything costs less than it does here, but when he is told that he can get as much in two days here as in a week in his own land, he thinks this must be next door to paradise. His friends over here write to him such encouraging stories that he wants to join them, and the agents of the steamship companies, who want his passage money, picture America so brilliantly as the land of opportunity that he finally comes.

Disillusioned? Yes, indeed, time after time, but enough of the immigrants do get what seem to them big wages so that the tale of America's waiting wealth continues to

be told as glowingly as ever. A few years ago it was common for employers in this country who wanted to employ large numbers of cheap laborers to hire them in masses in the Old World and pay their passage over here. Our laws now forbid this practice, but sometimes they are evaded.

The chief substitute for the political tyranny of former centuries has been the compulsory military service required on the continent of Europe. This cause has been more

A Kind of Work for Which Immigrant Labor is Commonly Used.

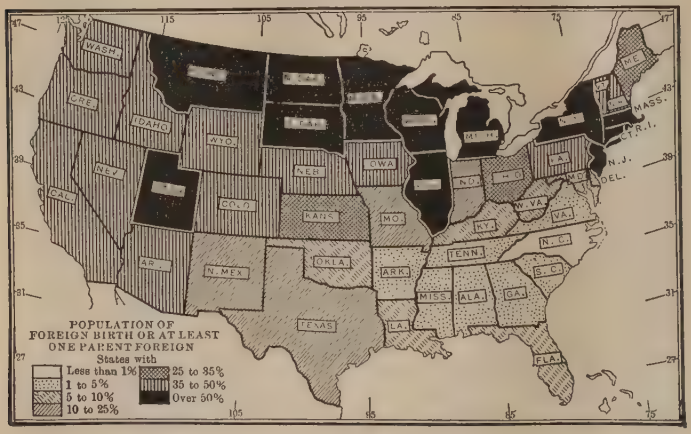
effective in causing emigration from Germany and Italy than elsewhere, and it has been the motive that brought many to the United States.

Religious persecution is less common to-day than ever before in history, but at least it has been one reason why so many Russian Jews have sought the freedom of America.

249. Where Do They Go? — If we could take our immigrants to the farm lands that even yet are waiting for the right people to use them, and could distribute them over the country somewhat equally in all sections, our problem

would be greatly simplified. But when the first great immigration movement came, there was no chance to turn it toward the South, for there the work that the immigrant could do was being done by the negro slave.

And so the immigrant stayed in the North, and the greater part in the northern cities. Many Germans took up farming, it is true, and numerous Scandinavians have gone to the wheat fields of Minnesota and the Dakotas, but few of the Irish did so and almost none of the "new immigrants."



PROPORTION OF FOREIGN ELEMENTS IN THE STATES.

And even now the South takes hardly any foreigners. No section of the country has so nearly a pure native American population as the southern states east of the Mississippi River.

The East Side of New York, already thickly packed, manages to absorb a few more thousands every year, as do the similar districts in Chicago. The cotton mills of cities like Fall River and Lowell have taken many foreigners to Massachusetts. The coal mines of Pennsylvania and the steel and glass factories of the Pittsburgh district have drawn several hundred thousand Austrians, Hungarians, Poles, and Italians

to that state. Almost one person in three in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New York is of foreign birth. If we add to those states Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Wisconsin we shall include three fourths of the foreign born population of the country.

How do the sections with the largest native American population compare in prosperity and progress with other sections? Is this condition because of or in spite of the immigrant?

A Street on the East Side of New York.

250. What Happens? — The effect of such crowding into places already crowded cannot be otherwise than harmful. Look at almost any list of cases tried in a criminal court in a district where foreigners are at all numerous, and you will find a proportion of foreign names far greater than the percentage of foreigners in the whole population of the neighborhood. You will make the same observation if you look at the lists of admissions to poorhouses and insane asylums. If the foreigner becomes a voter he may easily be swayed by appeals to prejudice and by the corrupt use of money. The proportion of persons who cannot read and write among the foreign-born of the new immigration is very high.

The tendency of these immigrants to flock by themselves

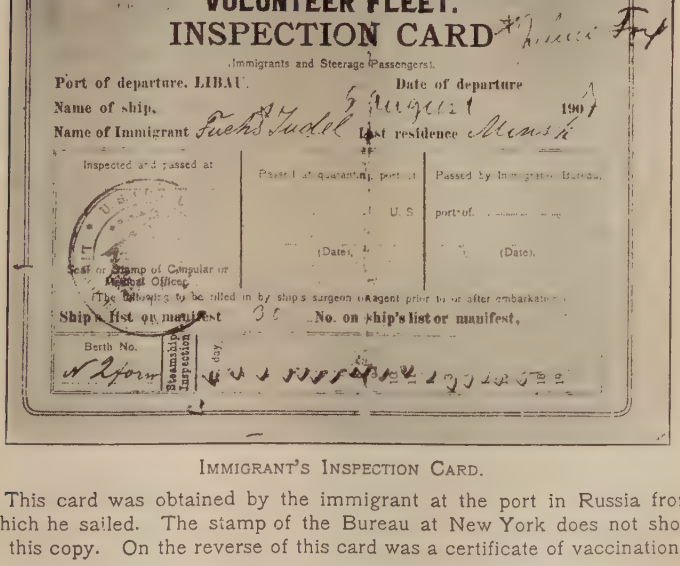
makes difficult the efforts of Americans who wish to improve the conditions of the foreigner, and tends to make new lines of social distinction. Very likely these unpleasant conditions have not all come about because the foreigner is a foreigner, but they are largely due to the fact that so many times he tries to associate only with people of his own race and insists on living in conditions below the American standard.

Street Scene in the North End of Boston.

251. What Shall We Do About It? — Some experiences of Americans after the Great War in Europe broke out came as a sudden shock. We found that some of the people who were foreign born or were of recent foreign ancestry were not nearly so completely Americanized as we thought. Even among the more intelligent portion of our foreign-born people there were signs that the interests of the fatherland were more important to them than the interests of the United States, and that they wanted this country to direct its foreign policy solely with the view of benefiting the nations with whom they sympathized. As a result new efforts to teach the foreigners

what American ideals stand for and to help them to put "America first" have been put forth.

A favorite proposition among those who see the evils resulting from immigration has been to limit it by requiring that the immigrant should be able to read. Our laws before 1917 excluded the feeble-minded, the insane, and those suffering from any objectionable disease; those who have com-



VOLUNTEER FLEET.

INSPECTION CARD

(Immigrants and Steerage Passengers).

Port of departure. LIBAU. Date of departure

Name of ship. August 1907

Name of Immigrant Fuchs Judel Last residence Minsk

Inspected and passed at | Passed at quarantine port of | Passed by Immigration Bureau,

U. S. port of.

(Date). (Date).

Seal or Stamp of Consular or Medical Officer.

The following to be filled in by ship's surgeon or agent prior to or after embarkation:

Ship's list or manifest No. on ship's list or manifest.

Berth No.

Steamship Inspection

day.

IMMIGRANT'S INSPECTION CARD.

This card was obtained by the immigrant at the port in Russia from which he sailed. The stamp of the Bureau at New York does not show in this copy. On the reverse of this card was a certificate of vaccination.

mitted any serious crime; paupers, beggars, and other persons likely to be a public charge; polygamists, anarchists, and persons intending to engage in immoral practices; and laborers brought under contract made in foreign countries. A tax of four dollars for each immigrant is collected. Three Presidents, Cleveland, Taft, and Wilson, vetoed bills that prescribed a reading test, but at last such a bill was passed over the President's veto by Congress in 1917. After the

Great War a new rush of Europeans came in such throngs that Congress seriously considered closing our ports entirely to immigrants, except relatives of those already here. Some means of limitation seems positively necessary.

What do you think of the reading test? Can you give the reasons which any one of the three Presidents assigned for their vetoes of the various bills requiring this test?

252. The Yellow Man. — If all our immigrants were white people, we should not worry quite so much as we do. But on the Pacific coast, chiefly in California, there are nearly 75,000 each of Chinamen and Japanese. They are willing to live on much less than the American thinks he can live on, and they will work for low wages at jobs which otherwise would be given to white laborers with better pay. The Japanese are especially good business men, too, and will make money at gardening and other occupations where the white man cannot.

Scene in New York's Chinatown.

"Chinatowns" in all our great cities are largely Americanized.

Very likely some of the ill feeling of the Californian laboring men toward the Asiatics is due to prejudice against them because their skins are yellow, but there is also an honest fear that the cheap labor of the foreigners will leave no work for the white laborer at wages large enough for him to live on.

For these reasons we have made treaties with China which

allow us to keep Chinese laborers from coming to the United States at all. We have an agreement with Japan also by which the Japanese government refuses to give passports to laborers wishing to come to the United States. To keep down the ambitious Japanese the city of San Francisco tried to exclude Japanese from schools which white children attended, and the state of California passed laws intended to prevent the Japanese from becoming the owners of land in the state. Both of these undertakings were deeply resented by the Japanese, but the difficulty was smoothed over, for a while at least.

Some people refer to China and Japan as "the yellow peril," and think that some day those two nations will engage in a great war with the United States and other white nations for the mastery of the Pacific Ocean and perhaps of the world. But certainly nothing more has been done by any Japanese to stir up ill feeling toward this country than some American newspapers have done to make us distrust the Japanese. It ought to be our effort to promote good will and mutual understanding with the bright little men of the Orient who have made so much of themselves in a half century, and to avoid giving them any cause for offense.

Can a Chinese or Japanese vote in this country?

253. The Black Man. — But we have another color question too, and have had it for 300 years. The black man did not come here of his own accord and has not fused satisfactorily in the great melting pot. For nearly two and a half centuries after the first slaves were brought to the "Old Dominion," most of the negroes were held in bondage. It is not strange that when they were set free they wanted at first to be treated on an equality with the whites, socially and every other way, and that the white people of the South were equally determined not to treat them as equals.

To-day this attitude has given place, both North and South, to the feeling that it is best for both races that they

keep apart, as much as possible, in social and business matters. Led by such men as Booker T. Washington, the negroes generally believe that they should try to develop themselves to the best of their ability as negroes, rather than to expect to mingle with the whites on a basis of equality.

In the North the negroes usually attend the same schools and colleges with the whites and no distinction is made by law between them. But in the South they have separate schools,

Courtesy of Tuskegee Institute

BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS, TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA.

Booker T. Washington founded this school and was for many years its president. It has rendered valuable service to the colored people of the South.

separate cars ("Jim Crow" cars, they are often called), and separate hotels, and any attempt by a negro to put himself on a plane with the white man receives harsh treatment. Nevertheless the negro has made very great progress in late years. Some negro lawyers, physicians, business men, and educators, have done remarkably well.

Of one thing the southern white man is absolutely sure — the negro shall not control politics. The days of reconstruction after the Civil War are bitter memories to the South.

The negroes, suddenly given the ballot, were elected to offices which they were absolutely unfit to hold. Directed by northern white men they plunged the South into all kinds of extravagance and bad government.

Some of these northern white men were honest, and when the Republican party leaders in the North tried to keep the negro governments in office by the use of federal troops, they thought they were only doing justice to the black man.

Courtesy of Tuskegee Institute

WOODWORKING DEPARTMENT, TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA.

But it was a bad mistake politically. The great mass of southern white men went solidly into the Democratic party, and even to-day they vote the Democratic ticket with such uniformity that we speak of the "Solid South."

They have very largely succeeded in getting rid of the negro as a voter, too. They do this partly by requiring voters to be able to read and write or to understand a section of the constitution or to hold a certain amount of property. These restrictions alone will keep out many negro voters.

Several states have what is known as the "grandfather clause" in their state constitutions. This is a provision saying that persons who were voters in 1867, for example, or are descended from persons who were voters at that time, need not meet the special educational or property requirements for voting. Since no negroes were voters in those states in 1867, all of them have to meet the special requirements in order to vote, but the poor or ignorant white man is relieved from them. In most of the South the negroes no longer try to vote, feeling that it is a waste of time.

The total negro population of the country is about 10,000,000, an average of 1 in 10 of the whole population. Their numbers increase from one census to the next, but the percentage of negroes in the whole population is slowly declining.

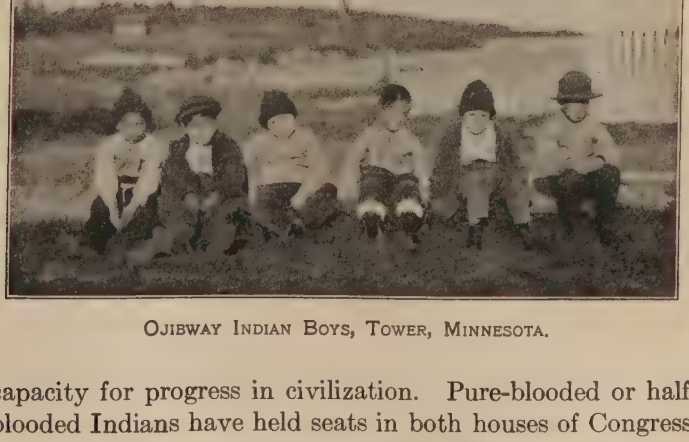
254. The Red Man. — At last we come to the original native American — the Indian. In spite of all the checkered history in which he has taken a part since the white man came to the New World, his numbers are estimated to be at least as great as when Columbus landed on San Salvador. The latest figures show about 330,000 of them in the United States.

Our early treatment of the Indians was, as Helen Hunt Jackson called it, "A Century of Dishonor." Indians were treated as if they had no rights which any white man had to respect. If a white man wanted some Indian land, he simply helped himself to it, and was protected by our "homestead" laws in holding his title to it. No wonder Indian wars were common in the years when the West was being settled.

But for the last thirty years or so our government has tried to be fair to them, to care for them rather than to rob them. Certain districts have been set apart as Indian reservations, which no white men are allowed to occupy. Government agents are put in charge of the Indian tribes and are entrusted with the duty of looking out for their welfare. Schools are

maintained by the government for their benefit. Sometimes Indian lands are bought and thrown open for general settlement, but the Indians are paid for the land, instead of having it stolen from them.

When an Indian or a tribe leave their reservation and take up homes as white people do, they are treated exactly as white men. Their political and civil rights then are the same as the white man's. Some of the Indians, especially the tribes now living in Oklahoma, have shown great



Ojibway Indian Boys, Tower, Minnesota.

capacity for progress in civilization. Pure-blooded or half-blooded Indians have held seats in both houses of Congress, and no one thinks of the race difference between them and the whites as he does between the whites and the yellow or black men. Still some tribes do not take kindly to a starched shirt and a white collar, but prefer to live as they did a thousand years ago. The melting pot cannot make much use of them.

Try to find the names of at least two yellow men, two black men, and two red men who have had a high place among their own race in this country or have been related to us in some public way. Tell something about their life and work.

QUESTIONS

Compare the immigration into North America, in numbers and source, in the seventeenth century, the eighteenth, the early nineteenth, the middle of the nineteenth, and the last thirty years. How large a part of our people are foreign-born? Study the map and see where this foreign-born population is most numerous. What explanation can you give for what you observe?

What motives brought the first European immigrants to the New World? Why have they been coming in late years? What difference in quality is observed? What is the effect on crime and poverty of a large immigrant population?

What are the main features of our immigration laws to-day? How easy do you suppose it is for the average alien of to-day to learn and understand the ideals of American citizenship? Do you think America is in danger from them? What would you recommend that we should do about it?

Explain the meaning of the phrase "the yellow peril." In what section of the country, and why, is the feeling over Asiatic immigration strongest? What do you think our proper policy toward Japan and China should be?

Give your opinion of the best standard to govern the relations of negroes and white people. What is the prevailing policy in the South? Why does the southern white man wish to keep the negro out of politics? How does he do it? What is the amount of the negro population of the country?

How many Indians are in the country? How were the Indians treated by our country during the first part of the nineteenth century? Can you explain it? What is the policy of our government toward them now?

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Immigrant as a Worker; the Immigrant as a Voter; the Immigrant as a Social Factor.

Resolved, that a literacy test for immigrants to the United States is desirable.

Are the Chinese and Japanese a Menace to the United States?

Hampton and Tuskegee.

Indians in Public Life.

A Study of the Moquis and Navajos (or other tribes in which special interest may be taken).

Americanization Movements.

CHAPTER XXVII

AMERICAN COUNTRY LIFE

When tillage begins, other arts follow. The farmers are therefore the founders of human civilization. — Webster.

255. Relative Importance of the Country. — Why should a city boy or girl speak of the brother from the farm as a "Rube" or a "country Jake"? Judging by the records of men who have become nationally famous, the country product has by far the best chance to make something of himself. The only one of our presidents who was born in a large city was Roosevelt, but no one has ever taken a greater interest in country life or experienced more keenly "the call of the wild" than he. From the country has always come the strong, red-blooded man or woman who could supply the steadiness, the nerve, and the courage which the city's idleness, luxury, and vice failed to provide.

Ninety-seven per cent of the people of the United States were rural in 1790, though hardly more than half are so rated to-day. But after all, thirty-five per cent of all our workers are on the farm, more by considerable than are engaged in any other occupation. This nation cannot live without the farmer. The city cannot raise a tenth of what it needs to eat. The farm can do without the city much more easily than the city can do without the farm. If the farm falls into decay, the nation is ruined.

256. Unfavorable Conditions in Rural Life. — All this is unquestionably true, yet year by year the country boys and

girls have been making their way to the city to find fame and fortune. What is wrong? Something must be out of place, when thousands upon thousands every year leave the freedom of the open country life to settle in the already crowded cities and never go back. Perplexed and disturbed by such queries, President Roosevelt appointed a Country Life Commission to investigate the matter and make a report to the nation.

ON A NEW ENGLAND ABANDONED FARM.

This building, once a dwelling house, is now used only for storing hay.

They and others who have looked into the matter offer the following reasons why so large a part of our rural communities have been either standing still or going backward.

There was a deadly monotony about life. The men farmed the same way year after year with no change in the quiet routine of duties. What their grandfathers had done, they continued to do and no more. The women had no interest outside of their own homes to vary their peaceful but tiresome existence. The boys and girls had few amusements.

The roads were their only playgrounds, the country grocery store the only social center, and ahead of them was not even the inspiration to advance which existed a century ago; for then most people lived on farms and one had as good a chance as another, but now they seemed hopelessly distanced in the race of life even before they entered.

A New England Farm in Winter.

Much sentiment has been wasted on "the little red schoolhouse." Thanks be that we had it, for it was far better than nothing, and many great men got all their training there except what they picked up by themselves. But a little red schoolhouse that was open only six or seven months in the year and was presided over by a helpless maiden lady or school director's niece for $25 a month could hardly supply the modern demands for education.

Old Schoolhouse and Burying-ground, New London, Connecticut.

In this schoolhouse the Revolutionary patriot Nathan Hale once taught.

The roads were, nearly half the year, unfit for use. Snow-drifted, muddy to the wagon's axle, dusty like the desert — take your choice. But what else could you expect when men were al-

lowed to "work out" their taxes by putting in time on fixing the roads?

Even the church, the bulwark of the rural community of the past, seemed hopelessly a back number. Instead of one or two churches which could stand strong and wield a real power in the community, there might be half a dozen, squabbling now and then over points of doctrine and not one of them doing anything to build up a vital moral life among the people. And moral delinquency among boys and girls

One Kind of Rural Road.

was just as bad and common in some country districts as in the city. But again, what could you expect when a pastor was lucky to get $200 or $300 a year, and had to run a farm besides to keep his family from starving?

But we do not need to suppose such conditions to be necessary or typical of farm communities. Go to a county fair in Kansas or Iowa or California or many another part of the West. Watch the sunburned but sturdy farmers' families as they drive up with their "machines." They are strong, happy, and have money to spend. What does it mean?

Simply this, that it is possible to apply to life in a rural community the same fundamental principles of which we have already spoken in discussing the " Elements of Community Welfare." There will be differences in the way some things are done, but the result is just as certain and as helpful.

The Farmer's New Carry-all.

257. The Farmer and the Highways. — Take, for example, the problem of community planning. We said that one of the great requisites is convenience. The farmer to-day cannot amount to anything if he lives a hermit life. He sells his produce to communities miles away and buys many things from them. If he is to keep in touch with the rest of his neighborhood, he must meet with them at church, at the Grange, at the fair, or the political meeting. His family must also travel some distance in going to school or to the other meeting-places we have just mentioned.

How vitally important, then, is the country road! How much less it costs in time, in energy of man and beast, in wear and tear of wagons and harness, or in gasoline, if the road is smooth and reasonably level! And this matter is of importance to the city dweller too; for he must have the farm produce, and if it costs more than it should to get this to the railroad station, he must pay an extra sum for this waste of time and energy.

The national government itself has realized the seriousness of the problem; in 1916 it appropriated seventy-five millions of dollars to be spent in the next five years to assist those states which are trying to improve their rural roads. Most states are taking up the work in earnest. Great stretches of macadamized or concrete highways reach for miles upon

miles where once were nothing but muddy, dusty, or stony wagon-tracks. And all this is in addition to what the local governments are doing.

If you have not already made a map of your township or county, do so now. Show on it all the public roads, indicating what kind of construction they received. Do you find any that need repairs or improvement? Why isn't it done? Consult farmers or team-

WELL-KEPT COUNTRY ROAD.
This has been treated with a preparation of oil.

sters who can tell you what it costs to carry freight in your neighborhood and how much difference it makes to them whether the road is good or poor. Study also the kinds of roadways sufficiently to determine what kind is best for your section. If you have the chance, observe a piece of road under construction. Notice the grades, ditches, culverts, tools used, and any other features of importance.

In many sections of the country interurban electric lines cater particularly to the business of the farmers along the way. They help to take the farm products in to market and make it easier for the farmer and his family themselves to take advantage of what the larger towns have to offer them in the

way of trade or entertainment. The national government through its postmasters is now making a special effort to develop its parcel post system so that eggs, butter, and other perishable products can be carried quickly and safely directly from the farm to the city family. The further this activity can be carried, the better it will be for all concerned.

A New Hampshire Country Railroad.

258. Health as a Rural Problem. — Health is another element of welfare even more vital than convenience to both the rural family and the city resident. As the farmer's family are likely to be outdoors much of the time, they have one great physical advantage. But too often this is only just about good enough to offset some flagrant disregard of other laws of health.

Sometimes the water for the household is taken from a well which is so situated that drainage or sewage from the house or stable soaks down into it. After a while some one has typhoid fever but nobody can guess the cause. Sometimes the stables are not kept clean, the pails used when the cows are milked are not thoroughly washed, and the milk becomes another source of disease. Now if this milk is sold in a village or city, the deadly germs are carried with it. Another evidence of the close connection between country and city!

Then there is the disposal of garbage. Perhaps it is thrown out for the hens to pick over, or dumped into the pig pen, which is usually vilely filthy. While it is being kept until ready for such a use, it may have been left in a bucket back of the kitchen door where the flies have easy access to it.

Another matter is that of quarantine against contagious diseases. There is no doctor within a few blocks who can be

called the instant anything is out of the way. Therefore a child who, without knowing just what is wrong, is coming down with some disease, can expose everybody whom he happens to see. Epidemics have been just as pitiful scourges in the country as in the city.

In suggesting these things, we do not mean to cast any reflections upon the good intentions of country people. But just mentioning them is enough to show that the care of

Farm Scene on the Great Plains, Eastern Colorado.
Observe the windmills. The water is raised from deep wells.

conditions which promote health is every bit as real a problem in the country as in the thickly settled community. And of course pure food, personal cleanliness, and sanitary and pleasant homes are of equal interest everywhere.

259. The Protection of Life and Property. — From the standpoint of protection the rural community finds conditions much different from those of the city. The country community cannot afford to maintain an expensive fire department, with modern engines and hook and ladder companies.

Instead of an electric alarm system notifying a paid fire company, the church bells call out all the community. With pails and tubs they pass water from the nearest well, spring, or stream, but if a fire gets a good start, the situation is almost hopeless. In some places we find volunteer fire companies with some equipment, and these at times do good service.

Fortunately the houses in the country are often far enough apart so that the fire may be limited to the building where it

COUNTRY STORES.
Main street of Tower City, North Dakota.

starts; but if once a blaze gets under headway in the group of frame buildings that usually appears in a country village, several of them are likely to burn. Sympathy, coöperation, and assistance in making a new start are ever abundant among country people. Yet the rural home-keeper who does not carry fire insurance is making a mistake which he may some time regret bitterly.

Crime occurs in the country as well as in the city. But since the people are scattered and less wealth is on display, there is less temptation for the sneak thief and the burglar. Seldom do we find a paid policeman except in the large vil-

lages, and the rural constable and justice of the peace are plain members of the community like anybody else.

To a greater degree than most city people the farmer finds the national and state governments of direct use to him in protecting his property, especially the growing crops which mean so much to him. The warnings of the Weather Bureau about storms, frosts, floods, and the like, he can get through the rural mail delivery in season to be of great service to him.

Courtesy of National Child Labor Committee

STRIPPING TOBACCO ON A KENTUCKY FARM.

Work of this kind keeps boys out of school and often makes them hate farm life.

That crops to the value of nearly $800,000,000 are ruined in one year by insects, and property worth $167,000,000 is annually destroyed by rats, are facts which directly concern the farmer. And so whatever is done to prevent this loss by the national Department of Agriculture or the state bureau of the same nature, is of great interest to him. Sometimes when a state or national agent finds the farmer's cattle suffering from an infectious disease and orders them to be slaughtered, the farmer is tempted to regret this activity. But after all, this is a phase of the work of protecting the

community which he would surely wish to be performed if the victim were somebody else.

Bulletin after bulletin issued by the state or national department concerns the potato blight, the army worm, the cotton boll weevil, the preservation of insect-eating birds, and countless other similar matters of direct significance to the farmer. Since these bulletins are sold cheaply or are even given away, a much wider use ought to be made of them than is made now.

How much use has your family made of these?

260. The Rural School. — Great has been the improvement in late years in the school facilities offered to the country boy and girl. Instead of several little red schoolhouses (more likely to be white to-day), we find well-equipped central buildings to which the children are carried in the morning and from which they are brought home in the evening by some one paid by the school district. Even high school education is generously distributed all over the state. Especially in the far West every county is likely to have a union high school even if the smaller communities cannot afford one.

Very noticeable, too, is the adaptation of the course of study to suit the needs of the country resident. Science, for example, can be taught so as to apply to farm life as well as to the factory in the city or to the smelter in the mining districts. Agriculture itself is taught as a regular subject in the curriculum. In some states a person cannot get a certificate to teach in a rural school unless he has qualified in that subject as well as others. Courses in the fundamental principles of home-making are not only offered to but are required of the girls, so that they can be better fitted to do their part to make farm life happy.

Of course no one will wish to hinder a country boy or girl from taking subjects which will qualify him to enter college. Rather should we encourage such an ambition. But there are

plenty of colleges that will accept the work of a good rural high school as readily as of a city school, for they know that when the country youth comes to college he comes in earnest. Besides, in many states the rural schools and city schools form a part of a great system with the state university at its head. Then the graduate of one steps just as naturally into the higher work as the graduate of the other.

New School Building in a Country Village.

261. The Higher Life of the Farm Community. — Does farming need to be a lonely life? Not for one who has an appreciation of all the great living forces of nature so lavishly manifested to the country dweller. Not when it is so easy as it is in many districts to-day to keep in touch with what is going on in the rest of the world. Would you guess that the state of Iowa has more telephones in proportion to its population than any other state? Yet it is so. The farmer's wife can call the doctor, talk " clothes " with her friends, and hear all the neighborhood news without going out of her own sitting room. The rural mail carrier comes at least once every day, and brings the daily paper as well as " Wallace's Farmer"

or the "Country Gentleman" or any other of the excellent farm journals now published.

The schoolhouse is often a center of community activity in the country as well as the city. Entertainments, Grange meetings, extension courses with lecturers from the state university, can be held there. It can be a social center in every sense of the word. Some communities prefer to make the church such a social center. There is a great field for a church which wishes to make its influence felt in the life of its people during the whole week as well as on Sunday. Frequently we find, too, that instead of continuing several weak, uninspiring little churches the people unite in a federated church which is a real power and serves its neighborhood in countless ways.

WINTER TRAVEL IN THE COUNTRY.
This old sleigh bears a picture of George Washington.

Then in the summer a Chautauqua may be held, and the people may hear strong messages from thinkers in other parts of the country and enjoy some of the better types of entertainment. In the fall there is usually a county fair, to bring the people together from miles around, to show what they have raised, to see what others have done, and to watch the exciting finishes in what somebody once called the "sport of kings."

The young folks are not neglected, either. They are welcomed into the Grange as soon as they are old enough to enjoy it, or perhaps they have their own community club. Sometimes in connection with the schools, sometimes under

other auspices, corn clubs are organized for the boys, canning clubs for the girls, contests to see who can raise the biggest hog in several counties, and many other activities which add zest to the farm work and make the young people feel that they have a real part in the nation's life. They cannot go to the "movies" after supper every night, but they can do many things that the average city or small town boy would never be able to undertake.

Looking Up the Connecticut Valley.
New arch bridge and village of North Walpole, New Hampshire.

When you come to think it over, it seems as if the worst problem for the boy and girl may be the life in a half-grown village or small town. There we may not have either the healthful hard work of the farm or the wide variety of interests of the city. Poor shows are degrading, but the town cannot afford high-class ones. Churches are likely to be too weak and perhaps too numerous. If the place has saloons, they become the center of interest where many waste their money and lose their manhood. Gambling clubs and

" speak-easies " are likely to be common, and many a boy gets a downward start in such a place.

Did you ever know such a community? Can you make any suggestions about improving it?

262. The Farmer as a Business Man. — One of the signs of betterment in rural conditions is that farmers are making farming a business instead of a habit. They are not doing things just because their fathers did them that way, but they are trying to find out what is best suited to the condi-

Up-to-date Farm Buildings.

tions in which they live. Shall a farmer give his whole attention to one crop or shall he try diversified or " mixed " farming? He thinks about this matter. He gets advice from his state college. Perhaps he takes a few weeks off some winter and studies at the college. He tries, in short, to know why things are done.

The present-day farmer can keep in touch with the markets and know what the prevailing prices are. He can and does insist on getting a reasonable return for his work and for his investment in his crops. He has learned how to demand and to get a square deal from the politicians. No parts of the country show so much independent voting as the states of the middle and far West where farmers are numerous

The methods of farm labor are very different from what they once were. The back-breaking hoe and scythe and shovel are not needed nearly so much as formerly. The farmer sits on the seat of a cultivator or mowing-machine, and lets the animals that draw the machine do the hard part of the work. Plowing and harvesting, if the farm is large, will probably be done with aid of steam-propelled tractors owned by the neighborhood in common.

Country Estate of Madame Modjeska.
Near Santa Ana, California. Notice the great live-oak trees.

Can a man without brains do all this? By no means. Real executive ability of a high order is needed to make a successful farmer. Many a man who might succeed in some narrower field would fail as a farmer if he could not acquire the broad vision and all-round knack of doing things which the farmer must have. Let no one despise farm life, its requirements, or its opportunities. Farming will never be easy work, but it need not be disagreeable. Some states have not the soil to develop rich farms; but with a little care and attention any state can make its farm life happy. It

will do no harm if some of our discontented city residents are attracted "back to the farm."

As between country and city, would you care to exchange from the life you are now living? Could every city man run a farm successfully?

263. The Farm Loan System. — Farmers have often found difficulty in getting money at reasonable rates of interest when they wished to borrow it to make improvements on their farms or for other desirable purposes. To help them out of this difficulty and to make it possible for the farming resources of the nation to be used as the basis of credits in the business world as well as other forms of wealth, a federal farm loan system was established by a law of Congress in the summer of 1916.

As in the federal reserve banking system, the country is divided into twelve districts, with a federal land bank in each district. The two systems are, however, entirely distinct, and with one exception the banks are in different cities from those which possess the federal reserve banks.

In which district are you? Where is your farm loan bank?

In any neighborhood ten or more farmers may combine to form a national farm-loan association, and these associations may apply to the federal land bank in their district for loans. No money is loaned to amount to more than fifty per cent of the assessed value of the property on which it is to be used, and none is loaned on property already mortgaged unless it be used first for the purpose of paying off that mortgage. The rate of interest is to be as low as the safe management of the system will permit, and the money borrowed may be paid back in installments.

The whole system is under the general direction of a Federal Farm Loan Board of five persons. The Secretary of the Treasury is chairman of the board, with a Farm Loan Commissioner and three other members appointed by the President. It is too early to tell how much good will be

accomplished by this new venture, but it is worth noting that the farmers are getting reasonable consideration from our national financiers, and the success of similar ventures in other countries indicates that it ought to improve conditions here in our rural districts.

Are many of the farms in your section mortgaged? Do many of the farmers make money?

QUESTIONS

Is there any justice in the contemptuous attitude sometimes assumed by the city resident toward the farmer? State the comparative importance of the farmer.

What reasons can you offer for the decline in population and prosperity of many rural districts? How does your state appear in statistics on this subject? Did you ever spend enough time in the country to learn anything about the situation? Is backwardness characteristic of farming communities everywhere?

To what extent does the large community depend upon the farmer? How far does the farmer have to depend upon outside sources? Make clear the ways in which the railroads, interurban lines, and regular highways affect the life of the farmer. How does the condition of the roads directly touch the farmer's pocketbook? What kind of roads are most suitable for the country districts? Why are there not more of them? Are the great highways — the Lincoln Highway, for example, of use to the farmer?

Show the bearing of health regulations upon rural life. Give examples of disregard of health conditions. Compare the means of fire protection in city and country. Where is the need of police protection greater, and why? Show how the federal and state governments can be of help in the saving of crops.

How are school administration and courses of study being adapted to rural needs? (If yours is a rural school, give extended time to the discussion of these questions.) How can the church be made an effective factor in the upbuilding of rural life? What attention can the farmer give to reading? What part in farm life is provided by the rural mail delivery; the traveling library; the agricultural college; the Grange; the county fair? What interests and forms of recreation are available for the country boy or girl? What pleasures or social privileges exist in the country which the city does not enjoy? Compare the small town in this respect with both country and city.

Show that a successful farmer must have much executive ability and business sense. What should he know about the markets and how can he know this? What has machinery done for the farmer? Is it for the best interests of themselves or the country that farmers should vote solidly at elections? Are the opportunities of the farmer equally good in all sections of the country?

Why was the Federal Farm Loan Board established? Explain its work.

SPECIAL TOPICS

President Roosevelt's Country Life Commission.
Country Road Construction.
A Course of Study for the Rural School.
Corn Clubs and Canning Clubs.
The Country Church.
The Rural Carrier.
Chautauquas.
The History and Services of the "Grange."

CHAPTER XXVIII

TRADE, TRAVEL, AND NEWS

And a new word runs between, whispering, Let us be one.
— Kipling.

We become wholly dependent for the necessities of life on the masters of transportation. — Spearman.

264. "In Days of Old." — The story of the steps by which men have learned to take themselves, to carry goods, and to send messages, over land, on the sea, and through the air, is infinitely fascinating. It is almost the history of civilization itself. But we must limit our discussion of it to our own land.

When our Constitution was adopted, we cultivated our fields, transported our products, and communicated with our friends, less efficiently and easily, in most respects, than the Romans did when their great Empire was at the height of its glory. Except between the largest towns, travel on land was almost entirely by pack horse. Stagecoaches took two days to go from Philadelphia to New York. Sailing vessels carried almost all the freight that was shipped, for people could not afford the expense of any other method. To carry a ton of goods from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh cost $100 or more. Thomas Jefferson complained that it took four weeks for a letter from Charleston to reach him in Virginia, when two weeks, in his opinion, was plenty long enough.

A few turnpikes were already started, the first in the country, which ran from Philadelphia to Lancaster, being

opened in 1792. A little later canals aroused a great deal of interest, and for a few years a veritable craze for constructing them swept the country. They reduced the cost of transportation wonderfully, and made a considerable saving in the matter of time.

265. The Steamboat. — Oliver Evans and John Fitch experimented with steam as a motive power for boats in the 1780's, and Fitch actually ran a boat from Philadelphia

OLD STAGECOACH.

In regular service until displaced by an electric railroad in 1900.

to Trenton. But when Robert Fulton took the *Clermont* from New York to Albany in 1807 the history of successful steam navigation really begins. Four years later a boat was running on the Ohio. The steamboat was early put in operation on the Great Lakes, and thus the westward movement encouraged by the opening of the Erie Canal was made many times more effective.

In 1838 the *Great Western* made its way across the Atlantic in fifteen days, using steam power alone. The next step was the use of iron vessels. And so the development of the steamboat has progressed until we have our ocean liners,

more palatial than most dwellings, traversing regular routes between the great cities of the globe.

266. Constitutional Questions. — The great importance of highways and canals appealed to everybody. Naturally the proposal was made that the national government should give money from its treasury to aid in the construction of these public works. A great national highway known as the Cumberland Road was begun, to run west from Cumberland, Md., through Wheeling, across Ohio, and beyond.

How They Went West Before

Presidents Jefferson and Madison, who held to the "strict construction" theory in interpreting the Constitution, did not believe such expenses were authorized by that document. Federal aid to enterprises of that kind was therefore stopped for a considerable period.

But this policy toward "internal improvements," as they were called, was not permanent. With the general acceptance of the "broad construction" idea, the objections disappeared. Millions of acres of public land were given to railroad companies to aid in constructing the roads. Millions of dollars are appropriated almost every year to spend

in improving the rivers and harbors of the country. To-day we find the government itself undertaking great public improvements. On the Panama Canal nearly $400,000,000 was spent, and the government is building a railroad to tap the coal fields of Alaska and reach the heart of that promising though still little-known dominion.

267. The Railroad. — During the height of the furore for spending money on canals and turnpikes, a new competitor entered the field of transportation which soon caused people

Courtesy of Pennsylvania Railroad Company

THERE WAS A RAILROAD.

to regret that they had made such heavy and hasty investments. This was the railroad. The Englishman George Stephenson was the first to construct a locomotive for traveling on rails. The first real railroad in America, the Baltimore and Ohio, began its construction work in 1828. By 1840 we had nearly 3000 miles of railroad in this country; in 1860 we had 30,000; and now we have over 250,000.

And how these railroads have grown! At first they were short affairs, running only from one city to the next large place. But as time went on, the short lines combined into great systems. The short roads which one had to use in

traveling from New York to Buffalo were united in the New York Central system, which later found its way into Pittsburgh and Chicago. The Pennsylvania Railroad, constructed between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, acquired by purchase, rental, or other means, an eastern terminal in New York, and western outlets in Chicago and St. Louis.

Old Style Toll Bridge and Railroad Bridge.
Bellows Falls, Vermont.

After some time roads were completed clear across the continent. At Ogden, Utah, in 1869, was driven the last spike which completed the work on the Union Pacific and Central Pacific lines from Omaha to San Francisco. The Santa Fé, from Chicago to Los Angeles and San Francisco, was the first road to go from Chicago all the way to the coast under one management. Now we have three great northern lines terminating at Seattle and Tacoma, the Southern Pacific from New Orleans to the Pacific, and several other

roads which make such good connections with the western coast that they could almost be correctly called transcontinental lines.

Another form of consolidation was not always so helpful to the public. That was the acquisition of a group of roads by one powerful financier or banking company. It was "Commodore" Vanderbilt whose wealth and genius made the New York Central system possible, E. H. Harriman and James J.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY LIMITED.
A through train from New York to Chicago in twenty hours.

Hill were later "railroad kings" whose marvelous organizing powers made great things possible in the development of the West. These two men were sincerely interested in the people and country that they served, but too often the railroad was a means of making money — nothing more. Some of the financiers have cared too little for the welfare of the people whose business made the road possible.

Make a map of the United States, showing the location of the great railroad systems, and your own railroad connection with the rest of the country.

268. Telling the News. — It would have taken President Washington a week or more to send a message from Philadelphia to his Mount Vernon estate and receive a reply.

One day in December, 1898, the writer stood in front of a newspaper office in Providence about 5:30 in the afternoon, and read this bulletin which had just been posted: "The treaty of peace was signed in Paris at 8 o'clock tonight."

When Washington was president the postage rates on letters varied with the distance to be traveled. Six cents was the lowest rate, and it cost twenty-five cents to send a letter over 450 miles. In 1914 one could send a letter to London, Berlin, Panama, or Manila for two cents. What made this difference?

Courtesy of Am. Tel. & Tel. Co.

THE FIRST TELEPHONE.

Alexander Graham Bell exhibited this at Philadelphia in 1876. Compare this with the exchange shown on page 446, and with telephones with which you are familiar.

Part of the answer is given by the railroads and steamship lines, of which we have spoken. Another part is obtained through the harnessing of electricity for the sending of messages. The telegraph of Morse, the Atlantic Cable, which we owe to the perseverance of Cyrus W. Field, the Bell Telephone, seem now to be everyday necessities. Without the aid of all these, we could not learn what is going on in the world much more easily than Washington could. It is likely that in a few years we may regard Marconi's wireless system an equal necessity.

Encouraged by the possibilities of getting news quickly and easily, great newspapers have been established in every large city, with thousands of smaller ones which try to meet the demands of less populous communities. To secure this news and distribute it to the newspapers, world-wide news agencies such as the Associated Press have been formed. In every important community in the world, they have their

agents who are alert for everything noteworthy that occurs and who report it at once to their home headquarters. From here the items are sent out by wire to all parts of the country.

Not only do we have these agencies for telling the news, but other people make it their business to comment on their significance. Every good newspaper has its editorial page where the views of the editor or publisher are set forth. Besides the newspapers there are many magazines, weekly or monthly, which summarize the events recorded in the dailies and try to interpret them for their readers. Many of these publications have circulations reaching up into the hundreds of thousands.

Make a list of ten newspapers and ten magazines which you would judge to have a large circulation. Discuss their most noticeable qualities. Do you think they can all be equally trusted?

269. The Meaning of These Factors in Our Life. — In many ways which we can clearly understand, even though we do not see them at work with our physical eyes, all these agents of communication and transportation affect us vitally. They enable us to be intelligent and to have a better understanding of the things that take place all over the world. They enable the business man to conceive and execute great enterprises which can be properly carried out only when all phases of their operation can be managed by one man or from one office. Governments, too, carry on war or conduct the activities of peace, with a speed and efficiency of which George Washington never dreamed.

Two other influences exerted by these factors of "trade, travel, and news" we have had frequent occasion to emphasize in taking up many of the topics we have studied. They bind a community, a nation, and even the world together and produce a common interest in the things that concern all alike. They also have brought it about that we can no longer pretend to be independent in any way except in our government and in our thinking. As Paul says, "If

one member suffer, all the members suffer with it." We depend upon each other for things which we do not try to provide through our own efforts.

It seems to require something like a great war to make us realize the truth of these facts. In time of peace, when matters are going smoothly, we fail to observe the forces that make us what we are. In time of war, when they are rudely interrupted, we see their importance and their hold upon our lives.

Courtesy of Am. Tel. & Tel. Co.

HAULING TELEPHONE POLES IN THE DESERT.

The completion of a transcontinental line was a triumph over serious physical obstacles, as well as a striking accomplishment from the scientific and business viewpoints. The line was put into successful operation in 1915. Thousands of visitors at the San Francisco Exposition of that year were greatly impressed as they sat in their seats at the American Telephone and Telegraph Company's exhibition rooms and listened to the waves beating on the shore of the Atlantic, or to a man in New York reading items from the New York papers of the same day.

Go over the elements of community welfare, the activities of our governments, the industrial, financial, and social problems which we have studied, and point out the connection of them all with the means of transportation and communication.

What effect have these improvements had upon the amount and character of laws?

270. The Movements of the People. — One feature remains to be mentioned, to which we have not given much direct attention. It is the problem of migration — the moving of the people from one place to another. The coming in of the foreigner we have discussed. Within our own borders similar movements are going on most of the time. Perhaps the greatest single force in our whole history is that unresting movement of our people westward. We doubt that those who took part in it could always tell why. It was an impulse, a call, that they could not resist.

Without the steamboat and the railroad this movement must have been impossible to the degree in which it did occur. But for their aid, the occupation of our vast central valleys, the western prairies, the mountain regions, and the sunset slopes of the Pacific, would not yet be completed. Jefferson thought at one time that it would take a thousand years to people the lands east of the Mississippi.

The nation whose people stay fixed in the place where they are born is likely to become stagnant. The people whose laborers are comparatively free to go from place to place when a better opportunity is offered will show a much higher standard of life and higher wages among its working men. This "mobility" of labor, as the economist calls it, is possible only when transportation and communication are easy and cheap.

How many times have you or your family moved? Why did you do it?

Guide-sign on the Lincoln Highway.

Travel for pleasure or for greater knowledge of the world is also rendered pleasant and desirable by the improvements in the facilities of which we are speaking. Great roads like the Lincoln and Dixie Highways make travel in automobiles delightful east and west, north and south. In the Pullman cars one can have nearly

all the luxuries of home. He can carry his money in the form of traveler's checks issued by the express companies, which will be accepted almost anywhere. If he needs to communicate with his friends, the mail and the telegraph are ready for his use. To "see America first," as the railroad companies are urging, becomes almost an obligation upon a citizen who wishes to be intelligent, when he can do it as easily and comfortably as is possible to-day.

"Old Faithful."

Every sixty-five minutes this geyser in Yellowstone Park makes this wonderful display.

271. The Problems of the Case. — Like many another good thing, the growth of these conveniences has been attended with disagreeable circumstances. In speaking of the street railways we mentioned the occurrence of graft, corruption, and incompetence in managing them. We have seen how often street railway and great railroad systems may be conducted without regard for the interests of the people. The misfortunes of the New York, New Haven, and Hartford railroad in trying to get control of the transportation lines of all New England show that ambitious enterprises sometimes recoil on their projectors.

It is of tremendous importance that the "masters of transportation," as Mr. Spearman calls them, do not become

our masters also. We must have the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone, if our present civilization is to continue. But if we allow these agencies to remain in the hands of private citizens, we must have it assured that they do not take from us more than a reasonable profit. Their object is to serve us at a fair rate. We do not live to help make them rich.

A little later we shall take up briefly the problems of government regulation and government ownership of all public utilities. We should try to understand the principles of that discussion, for if the government does undertake to own or operate these utilities, the telegraphs, telephones, and railroads will be the first which it will take over. Indeed, we have already seen the railroads pass under government operation as a war measure, and when they were restored to private hands they were put under much closer regulation than before.

One would hardly dare to predict the future of transportation and communication. It may be that the wireless and the aëroplane will do things for the next generation more wonderful than anything the inventions of the past have done for us.

QUESTIONS

Describe the means of communication and transportation alluded to in stories from the Bible or in Greek and Roman history with which you are familiar. What was the state of the means of travel and communication at the beginning of the nineteenth century?

Relate the effect of the canal upon our industrial development. What effect did the railroad have upon canal construction? What has been the influence of the steamboat upon progress? Trace the growth of great railroad systems of the country. Do you think any of the various types of aircraft will be of industrial service?

Give some facts to show the progress of the postal system. Make clear the ways in which electricity serves us by way of communication and transportation. Explain the significance of the names Morse, Field, Bell, and Marconi. How far-reaching do you estimate the newspaper to have been and to be in American life? Can you name any newspapers that have or have had a national reputation? How far do you form your opinion from what you read?

From references to these topics while taking up other subjects in our study, show how the inventions and developments of which we have spoken helped to bind us together and leave us no longer industrially or socially independent. Do you think this change is for the better?

How have improved means of transportation encouraged people to move about? What reasons cause people to move from one place to another within the country? In what directions has this migration gone? What does the name Pullman signify in regard to the character of present-day travel?

How has the development of trade worked harm in international relations? How has it brought difficulties into domestic industry and government? What has been done to keep transportation agencies under control? Are any further steps needed?

SPECIAL TOPICS

Practically all the means of communication, inventions, and inventors mentioned, would make interesting themes for study. Both as examples of great business organizations and as illustrations of our present topic, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company (the Bell system), and the Western Union and Postal Telegraph Companies would repay careful study. The Wells Fargo and other express companies, the Pullman Car Company, and the great railroad systems — the New York, New Haven and Hartford, the Pennsylvania, the Santa Fe, the "Harriman" roads, the "Hill" roads, and the like, would all yield fruitful results from the investigation of them.

CHAPTER XXIX

EARNING A LIVING

No laws however stringent, can make the idle industrious, the thriftless provident, or the drunken sober. — *Samuel Smiles.*

272. Preparation for Active Service. — "The average man must earn his own livelihood. He should be trained to do so, and he should be trained to feel that he occupies a contemptible position if he does not do so." No better text than these words of Theodore Roosevelt could be found for the matter we wish now to present. We have said truly that school is life itself, not merely a preparation for life. Yet the school's part in life is to make us ready to do something else. If you are not better fitted, when you get your diploma, to do the thing you are best qualified to do, somebody or something has failed to meet a great opportunity.

So strong has this feeling become among us that the federal government has undertaken to give some assistance from its treasury to states which are willing to contribute an equal amount for the same purpose and maintain the necessary equipment. By a law passed in 1917 such states will receive sums that will total over $7,000,000 a year. The law specifies that this money shall be used to promote "vocational education in agriculture and in the trades, industries, and domestic arts."

Upon those who can work well at something a great responsibility rests. In every ten people, taking them as a mass, four are too young, too old, or too feeble, to take an

active part in the world's labor. At least two more are engaged in home duties, thoroughly necessary, it is true, but not of a kind to bring in ready cash. One more is usually out of a job temporarily, either because he is personally shiftless or discontented, or because business in his line happens to be dull. That leaves three out of the entire ten who must not only support themselves but earn enough in addition to keep the other seven from starving to death.

Perhaps you think this is not fair, but nevertheless it is the fact. But would not boys or girls with real stuff in them rather help to support some one else than live on charity? To feel that when the last bugler sounds "taps" for you people are going to think of you as one who did his share and more than his share in the life of his community, is far pleasanter than to know that they feel relieved to have one less loafer to feed and clothe.

Should a child have an allowance for pocket money or should he be expected to earn what he spends in that way?

Just one caution before we go further. While it is glorious to find one's heart throbbing with ambition to do something for himself and for mankind, let us not make the mistake of rushing out into service when we are poorly equipped for doing *good* work. Just as a business man often finds it economy to spend money in order to get bigger returns later, so the boy or girl who gets all the school has to give will get far better rewards after he does start than the one who quits before he has finished his course and goes into a job out of which, unless he has exceptional natural talent, he can never hope to rise very far.

The United States Bureau of Education estimates that a high school graduate earns on the average $1000 a year during an active working period of forty years (from 18 to 58 years of age). The workman who has not gone to high school starts work four years earlier, but averages only $500 a year in earnings. Reckoning each of them up to 58 years of age, how much better off is the high school graduate likely to be at that time, and what will each of his four years in high school have been worth to him?

Is there any occupation which you would care to go into where you would regret having had a high school or college education? Make a list of 25 common occupations and classify them with regard to the value of high school or college training in preparation for them. Is its immediate use in making money the only thing worth considering in judging a subject or a course of study?

273. Choosing a Vocation. — It is not safe to speak too positively about the duty of choosing a vocation before one gets through school. Many a boy has felt that he would like nothing better than to drive a dump-cart or to call off the trains as the fellow with a calliope voice does it in a big railway station. Even in the high school many a pupil finds that his entire ambition for life changes during the progress of his course.

Yet men and women who have thought deeply on this problem of "vocational guidance" are convinced that even though a pupil may experience changes in the direction of his ambitions, he will lose nothing by having had his course aimed at some definite goal. It may at least save him from drifting along in a haphazard way and getting through at last without having learned to do any particular thing well.

In judging any occupation you must look at it from two distinct viewpoints: what has it to offer in qualities that interest you? and what qualifications have you to meet the necessities of the occupations?

You have the right, for example, to ask such questions as these: Is the occupation an honorable one and do those who engage in it have the respect of the community? Is health or life endangered by any part of the work which I shall be called on to do? What money compensation does it offer? What chance for advancement does it hold, if I make good in it? Can I continue to find enjoyment in it after the freshness of early enthusiasm has been wiped away?

The saloon business could hardly say "Yes" to the first of the questions. A powder mill could not meet with the second requirement. A mail carrier can never hope to speak

enthusiastically about the third. The messenger boy and similar "blind alley" occupations can offer nothing for the fourth. A reporter's berth on a newspaper or the endless demands on a physician's time may force one to say "No" to the last. Yet all of these can offer some inducements that others cannot. With such a wide field to choose from as a

Courtesy of National Child Labor Committee

A "Blind Alley" Occupation.

The newsboy cannot expect much in way of advancement.

boy now has before him, the choice of a life vocation is not an easy thing or one to be made hastily.

On the other hand we can imagine the vocation asking these questions of you as you consider entering its portals: Are you physically strong, do you have endurance even though you lack muscle power, or are you deficient in both? Do you think quickly or slowly? Are you accurate and

orderly, careful of details, or are you careless of these qualities, thinking on broad lines or through general impressions? Do you prefer work indoors or out? Are you original in your thinking and have you the power to lead others, or do you prefer to have some one tell you what to do? Do you always want to "play it safe" or are you willing to take a chance? Are you looking for a big salary, or will you accept the love and appreciation of others as a partial equivalent? Are you hard to get acquainted with and lacking in emotion, or do you make friends easily and speak freely with others? Are you looking for a "soft thing" or are you willing to work hard?

The vocation has as much right to expect you to answer these questions honestly as you have to inquire what it has for you. The thing which you must do is to take careful account of your own personal capital and see what you can put into any work. Then you can approach the vocations which have made some appeal to you and try to determine which one, *for you*, has most to offer.

Take the list of 25 occupations which you made for the last section and fill out a table that will show the extent to which each one presents or demands the following qualities: Social Position, Healthfulness, Salary, Advancement, Security, Interest, Ease, Physical Strength, Accuracy, Originality, Adaptability, Preparation. Classify your own qualities with reference to each of the last seven points. Then compare your personal classification with the list of occupations and see how many of them you think you are fitted for or would care to engage in. In grading the different points you can use the words "High," "Moderate," and "Low," or grade them still more minutely if you wish.

274. Opportunities for the Country Boy. — Two thirds of all the workers in the rural districts are engaged in some form of agriculture; about one seventh are in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, one eighth in domestic or personal service, one twelfth in trade and transportation, and one twenty-fifth in the professions. Since the tendency is for at least four fifths of all the people born in a state to spend

their lives there, the likelihood that opportunities in vocational lines will change in any short period is not great.

Since that is the case, the country will always make a far greater demand for farmers than for any other kind of workers. But does that mean a narrowing of a country boy's opportunity to do something worth while in the world? Not by any means. In Chapter XXVI we tried to show that

Old Grist Mill, New London, Connecticut.
This is over two hundred and fifty years old but is still in use.

farm life can be made interesting, healthful, and happy in a very high degree. We shall not try here to restate the points made in that place, but simply suggest that you recall them if you have entertained the notion that the boy born in the country is handicapped.

It is quite possible that more people are born in the country than are actually needed to do its work except at the rush seasons. But while some of this surplus population

must go into the towns, it would probably be better for all concerned if the farmer could cultivate some side line which would compensate for the failure of the farm duties to demand at all times his fullest energies and interests. Here is a chance for the country boys of to-day to show their originality and ingenuity.

If a country youth goes into any other vocation than farming, he has an excellent chance, just as the farmer does, to show any talents for leadership which he may possess. Longfellow's line on Julius Cæsar is worth quoting here: "Better be first, he said, in a little Iberian village, than be second in Rome." The country doctor, lawyer, minister, teacher, can stand out among his people as very few in a city can hope to do. The city offers the most money, and the greatest variety of outside attractions, but in many respects the country will always lead.

Is there any special form of agricultural investment or activity which would be particularly promising in your vicinity?

275. The Youth in the City. — Naturally the distribution of occupations in the urban communities is far different from that of the rural. In the urban communities we find about two fifths of the workers in manufactures and mechanical pursuits. Trade and transportation come next, with about one third. Domestic and personal service employ one fifth. The professions have one twentieth of all, and agriculture the small remainder.

There is likely to be great variation among the cities. Some have one industry developed so far beyond everything else that even the schools can properly give special preparation in their own courses for graduates who go into the community's favorite vocation. Other cities have their industrial interests distributed over a wider field. There the boy has a wider range of choice to make up for the inability of his school to give him a detailed instruction in a trade.

Possibly because their work seems more like "book-

learning," the schools of all the larger communities give special instruction to bookkeepers and stenographers. But printing, woodworking, metalworking, and the like, are being steadily introduced in school courses. Every effort is now being made in the best schools to find out what the boy is fitted for, and to bring representative business men into close contact with the schools, so that the pupils may get at first hand some acquaintance with the great vocations of to-day.

Many great businesses, like the Westinghouse Works near Pittsburgh and the General Electric Company at Schenectady, have special training courses into which they take a boy when he graduates from high school or college. There they teach him the main features of their business. In cities like Cincinnati business firms employ on a part time basis pupils who are still enrolled as regular members of the schools. It looks as if it would be the boy's own fault if he went out of school without at least having had a chance to think definitely about his life vocation.

In your own community what occupations offer the most or the best opportunities to one who is just starting to earn his own living? Do the majority of young people in your community seem satisfied to settle down there, or do they want to go somewhere else? Why?

276. Training the Girl. — Since nearly half the people in the world are women, and in a few of our states more than half, it is a piece of folly not to give serious thought to the training of our girls. The fact that a considerable majority of the pupils in American high schools to-day are girls makes it hard for us to realize that three quarters of a century ago, a girl was not expected to have more than a grammar school education, and was not permitted to obtain a degree from any important college.

But the question now rises, In opening the doors of our schools freely to girls have we merely given them a chance to learn books and to acquire a distaste for the things in life which were once the center of a woman's interests? Every year sees women going into the field of business more exten-

sively. The Great War has brought them into places always before filled by men, from many of which they are not likely to withdraw.

Yet the hard, cold facts of the Census Bureau show us that only one woman in sixteen lives and dies an old maid, and that nearly half of them marry before they are 25. Are they being trained as they should be for the important services which men cannot do?

The answer to this question is not so easy as it looks. Andrew Carnegie's advice to "Put all your eggs in one basket and watch that basket" is not wholly feasible here; for while they are waiting for that basket which most of them expect to watch, they must needs have some means of employing their time. Fortunately many after leaving school find enough duties in their own home to keep them reasonably occupied. But many must find their work outside, and for that they need training. Others, even when they are married, must help somewhat in the support of the family; and some go into outside work from choice.

The upshot of the whole matter is this: Training in home making — in cooking, sewing, and all the details of home management — will never be out of place for any woman. It ought to form a part of every girl's course in school at some time. She ought to have equal preparation with the boy in great subjects of social value such as this which we are now studying. She should have equal opportunity to pursue courses of advanced learning. If she wishes, she should have special vocational training outside of the lines of home making.

Our commercial classes in the public schools are composed, as a rule, largely of girls. As stenographers and office-workers there is more room for them than for boys, because their wage standard is lower. Sometimes such positions develop into well-paid secretaryships. One line of occupation which is wholly reserved for girls is that of telephone operator. Even for this the telephone companies wish to

have high school graduates, for a certain mental alertness which not every one possesses is an absolute essential in the work.

The range of advancement in girls' vocations, then, is limited by the fact that most of them sooner or later go into the one greatest vocation for women. A few occupations are barred to women because of physical reasons. But most of the rest are open to a woman who has determination and

Courtesy of Am. Tel. & Tel. Co.

INTERIOR OF A LARGE "CENTRAL" TELEPHONE OFFICE.
Girls are preferred to men for the kind of work required here.

courage. The girl should study her personal qualifications just as accurately as the boy, and make her choice with just as much seriousness. She cannot tell, any more than the boy, into what emergencies she may at some time be cast.

Take the list of occupations which we have already studied. Add, if necessary, eight or ten which women particularly enter, and judge them with reference to their suitability for women. If you are a girl, make personal application also.

277. Occupations and Wages.[1] — You will find that at least forty per cent of the people named in a city directory are recorded as being laborers or clerks. True, such a classification is not at all accurate, for great variety exists among the people in these groups.

But it is clear that with so many wage earners classified in this way, the average income cannot be very high. $2.50 to $3 a day for the year round would be a generous figure for this group, and that would mean a yearly income of $750 to $900. Since the studies of Professor Nearing, based on state government reports of a few years ago, showed that the average income of wage earners in the states of Massachusetts, Kansas, Wisconsin, and New Jersey was under $600, it is entirely safe to assume that with all the rise in wages that has marked the last few years, the average income for the whole year of workingmen to-day cannot be much over $1000.

Wages by the day or hour for skilled laborers such as carpenters, plumbers, and bricklayers have advanced to a high figure. But when we consider that a carpenter or a bricklayer may have to "lay off" without work for days or weeks at a time, his 80 or 90 cents an hour for an 8-hour day does not put him so far beyond our general estimate after all. People with large incomes are so few relatively that we shall ignore them here.

278. Comparative Costs. — Every student of the subject knows that all classes of people spend very much more than they did in the middle of the last century. Our wants are more numerous. We seek more variety and change in our daily life, and wish people to do things for us which once everybody expected to do for himself. Vacations and delivery wagons were once almost unknown.

Almost every one realizes, too, that the cost of living in the country is considerably less than in the city. Many of the

[1] Statements in this and the following sections in regard to wages and prices may not be accurate for any particular year or city. In late years changes have been many and sudden.

staple articles of food, such as flour, meat, and all kinds of package goods and canned goods cost no less in the country, but the people raise more of their own food products. Milk can be bought directly from the man who owns the cow, and butter, eggs, and cheese are for the same reason less expensive.

Besides, there is less expense for showy or fashionable clothes in order to keep up with somebody else. Bargain

A Hotel of the Old Days.

You could get a large, neat room and three good meals all for not more than a dollar and a half a day.

sales, to get people to buy what they do not need, a nickel for carfare every time you go any distance, expensive theaters or frequent attendance at cheap ones — these are missing from the country man's expense bill, to his decided advantage.

There is a difference between places, too. Rents in New York and Pittsburgh are noticeably higher than in Philadelphia or Baltimore. In the latter cities garden products and other articles for the table come from nearer farms, and so cost less. Wherever the total amount of money in the community is great, the price of almost everything will be

higher than elsewhere, even though that amount be not at all evenly distributed. Study your own community and see whether it has any peculiarities which will make you pay more or less to live there than somewhere else. Almost every place has some distinctive quality or condition.

279. The Rise in Prices. — All statistics show that, apart from the economic overturn caused by the European war, the prices of practically everything have risen in less than twenty years from fifteen per cent to over one hundred per cent in all

HOTEL, OLD POINT COMFORT, VIRGINIA.

Contrast this with the old hotel shown on the previous page, with regard to appearance, probable comfort, and expense.

the leading civilized nations. It is not a peculiarly American problem, though the rise is more marked in the United States and Canada than in Europe. What is the reason for it? Some one says, the middleman. Another says, the labor unions have forced high wages and the trusts have forced up the prices of their products. Still another urges, speculation and extravagant living. Another insists that the tariff is to blame.

Professor Clark, in his little book, "The Cost of Living," contends that none of these causes can have more than a

slight effect on the total movement of prices, even though in certain cases some of them seem to have been the direct reason for a rise. He points out that since the rise is not peculiarly an American problem we must look for some cause of more than local importance. He declares that the two causes which seem to be most positively at work are the exhausting of natural resources and the increase in the supply of gold.

Now and Forty Years Ago
"Those Were the Happy Days"

	May 24, 1877	May 24, 1917
Butter, lb.	.14	.36½
Eggs, doz.	.10½	.34½
Cheese, lb.	.12½	.39
Potatoes, bush.	1.15	3.10
Beef, shortribs, lb.	.06¾	.20½
Turkeys, alive, lb.	.09	.24
Fowls, alive, lb.	.08	.21½
Lard, lb.	.10	.22

— *Newspaper Clipping.*

The price of everything is simply the value that we put on it in exchange for gold, since we have made gold the standard of our money system, and this is determined by the law of supply and demand. If there is enough of a commodity in existence to give everybody all he wants, no one will have to give anything in exchange for it. But if everybody would like to have a commodity of which the available stock is small, those who can or will give the most in exchange for it are the ones who are going to get it.

We can easily see that the wasting of our natural resources and the reduction in the relative supply of them cannot help causing prices to rise for the commodities which depend directly on them. Since the amount of gold in the world has materially increased in recent years, more of it will be required in exchange for a given amount of something else. The

ordinary purchaser will not bother about figuring it out that way, but he gets the result in the higher price he pays.

280. Effects of High Prices. — Are high prices necessarily an evil? The common man would say "Yes" with haste and fervency. Indirectly good may come, however, for social improvements and readjustments of wages and the like more often accompany period of high prices than any other time. If wages increase in anything like a corresponding proportion, the earner has more to spend, and can spend it for more different things. Investigations and our own general knowledge tell us that wages do increase when periods of high prices are prolonged, but the wage increase tags along behind the rise in prices, and seldom is as great in proportion.

Yet it appears that the average laboring man of American family lives better than ever before, and is more independent. The persons whose salaries are fixed are more subject to inconvenience from a rise in prices than any others in the community. The man who works by the day is usually in a far better position to ask and receive an increase than the one who is paid by the month or the year. Those who have a fixed income from bonds and similar investments also have to try to make it cover a great deal more ground, and it will not always stand the strain.

281. Standards of Living. — What ought every family to be able to have in return for its labor? In other words, what is the standard of living which every family ought to maintain? What proportion of the necessities and comforts of life are its members able to enjoy? We may reasonably expect a family whose members constantly have to appear before the public in one way or another and who have a wide circle of prominent acquaintances to maintain a higher standard than others, but there are some things that every family ought to have.

Food in sufficient amount and variety to maintain good health; clothing to the same degree, and neatly kept; housing, to the same extent, with provision for a real home life;

savings for doctor's bills, insurance or protection against the inevitable "rainy day"; some little amount for recreation, culture, and the like — surely it is not too much to wish that every family in the land should be provided with all these. Can it be done?

Investigators in New York and other cities have been convinced that not less than $1500 a year is generally needed to keep a family of five supplied with the essentials of a decent

Old-Fashioned Covered Bridge.

Two mills, a dwelling-house, and a church also appear. This is the same community that was shown on page 5. How would you expect the standard of living in that place and in the best sections of Boston, for example, to differ?

living. Five is the average membership of a family, the country over. Compare this statement with our own generous estimate of the income of the average family, and see what your conclusion is.

A Chicago public official once advertised himself by experimenting to see whether a group could be given healthful bills of fare for not more than 40 cents a day apiece. Thousands of housewives could have told him beforehand that his time was wasted, for whatever his conclusions might be,

they did not have 40 cents apiece to spend for food every day in their families. Our study of the slums has shown us all the proof we need of this fact, and millions of families not in the slums must be in the same condition unless figures tell us frightful lies.

Poplar Trees in the Fens, Boston.

As for savings, how many families with incomes under $1000 can hope to save anything? A New York investigator concluded that the average New Yorker of moderate means — not the poor — spends forty-five per cent of his income for food, twenty per cent for rent, fourteen for clothing, and twenty-one per cent for other miscellaneous expenses. The Canadian Department of Labor calculated that in 1913 a family of five getting $800 a year income spent each week about $7.70 for food, $4.08 for rent, and $2.03 for fuel and light.

Do a little arithmetic and see how much they had left for amusement, culture, charity, doctor's bills, and savings. What is the moral?

282. The Family Budget. — Investigators have calculated that an ideal division of a family's expense account would be as follows: thirty per cent for food, twenty per cent for rent or taxes and repairs, and carfare, ten per cent for operating ex-

penses, including heat, light, ice, water, laundry, household help, and new furniture and equipment, fifteen per cent for clothes, and twenty-five per cent for higher life, including books and magazines, travel, church and charity, savings, special care of health, recreation and entertainment.

How does this estimate agree with the New York man's estimate which we quoted or with the Canadian government's figures? If they disagree from the ideal budget, where is the cut likely to be made first?

By the way, do you think you or your family could tell how much of your income goes for each of these items or would you have to guess at it? How many people of your acquaintance keep a careful account of their income and outgo? Do your answers to these questions suggest to you any possible reason why the cost of living is such a worry to so many families?

How much does the ordinary high school or college boy or girl know about the expenses of his own family? Do you think a father is doing just the right thing by them if he is nothing more than a walking checkbook to them in matters affecting family finance? Make a detailed estimate of the expenses necessary to clothe and feed and otherwise provide for a family of five for a year in moderate comfort. Is this more or less than you and your family spend?

283. Home Management. — The increasing supply of gold may be the reason for a long-continued and steady rise in general price lists, but bad management of the home explains more frequently why families are bankrupt, especially those of incomes above the poorest. The underlying principles of sound home management should be just as much a part of one's education as a knowledge of the English language. There is no better place than the home to apply the arithmetic that is taught in the school. That is why, mainly, we have included this topic in our study of Civics; we fear many will never get it anywhere else.

What can a school do directly to encourage saving?

The government can do very little in comparison with individual common sense and judgment in settling the problem of the cost of living for any special family. It can investigate and punish when speculators break the laws in regard to restraint of trade or when dealers lie about the quality of goods they sell. But families that use judgment about the things they buy, that try to avoid waste, and that refuse to buy when prices are unreasonable, can largely control their own expense accounts. When we have done that, and still the things we must have are going out of reach, we may rightly expect the government to protect itself and its citizens by direct interference.

What forms of savings are most desirable for the ordinary family? Is it desirable that every family should carry life insurance? Point out instances where unnecessary expenses could be avoided by your own family or those of your acquaintance.

QUESTIONS

To what extent should a pupil make up his mind in school about his life career? Why should every boy and girl give attention to this topic? Give facts to show the proportion of people who are really keeping society going.

Mention five characteristics which one should keep in mind in considering any particular vocation. Compare them in importance as they impress you. Under what circumstances would you rate the choice of a vocation to be most easily made, in past times or now, by the country youth or the city youth? How is your community situated with reference to offering choices of occupations to its young people? Study it and its occupations carefully in this regard.

Compare the proportion of workers in the various fields of occupations in the country districts. Do you recommend that, as a rule, country boys and girls should be advised to stay on the farm? Compare the percentage of workers in the different fields in the city with the records for the rural communities.

Should a boy endeavor to fit himself for more than one occupation? Should all girls secure definite, specific training in the duties of the home? Should a girl fit herself for some other occupation than homemaking as well as in that line? Why, in each case?

What are the qualities demanded for success in each of the great fields of human activity? Are any qualities common to all? In what directions, in normal times, do you think there is now the greatest opportunity?

How do the wages in the different fields of occupations compare? What figure would you estimate as surely high enough to cover the average wages of the American workingman to-day? Do the statements of the text agree with what your own investigations discover? What is meant by seasonal trades?

Compare the cost of living now and fifty years or more ago. Compare the cost in country and city. Why should there be any difference between communities? What explanations can you give for the increasing cost of commodities? What relation exists, if any, between wages and the prices of goods? Can any good result from a period of general high prices?

Should all families undertake to live equally well? What items ought every family to be able to supply to its members? How large an income is necessary to make this possible? What proportion of family incomes commonly goes for the main items in the family budget as shown by New York and Canadian investigators? In studying your own family budget did you find the results to agree with those which are quoted? How far should every family provide insurance or other forms of savings?

What reforms might many families undertake which would better their standard of living? Where does the fault rest when so many families have hard work to manage their finances? When, if at all, is it the business of the government to take a hand in regulating the cost of living?

SPECIAL TOPICS

Definite studies of special occupations concerning which the members of the class can get reliable advice should form a considerable part of the research work done in connection with this chapter. Concrete statements of the pupils' own views and notions will do more to show where counsel is needed than many pages of statistics and tables which might be given in this text.

What It Cost to Live When Father Was a Boy.
Grandmother's Employments and Amusements.
The Business Girl.
Our Family Budget.
What to Do with Our Savings.
Life Insurance: Its Forms and Importance.
The Cost of the Tobacco Habit.

CHAPTER XXX

EFFORTS TOWARD BETTERMENT

Our duty is to cleanse, to reconsider, to restore, to correct the evil without impairing the good, to purify and humanize every process of our common life without weakening or sentimentalizing it.

—Wilson.

If we fail, the cause of free self-government throughout the world will rock to its foundations; and therefore our responsibility is heavy, to ourselves, to the world as it is to-day, and to generations yet unborn. — Roosevelt.

284. Sharing Responsibility. — Employers are not all hard-hearted money-making machines. Some of them feel as did former president Baer of the Reading Railroad that God has intrusted them with the administration of certain duties in the development of the nation, although they usually express the idea more tactfully than he did. That the men and women who work for them are something more than machines is a thought which will naturally come to such an employer.

To recognize the fact that the workman who uses his hands is a co-laborer in the conduct of the business, and to induce him to work for his own good as well as for his employer's, a few firms have established a system of profit sharing. This may take the form of a bonus in addition to the regular wages of the employee or, as is often the case with some European firms, of a payment received after he reaches a certain age.

The United States Steel Corporation reserves shares of stock which the employees may buy and so acquire an interest in the firm. Henry Ford's plan, which is sometimes called profit sharing, consists rather in the payment of a uniformly

high standard of wages, with the insistence that the workmen shall maintain their own homes, if they are married, and observe proper habits of life.

Profit sharing has not taken a strong hold in this country. Labor unions are strongly opposed to it, for they believe it tends to make the laborer look at the industrial situation too much from the employer's viewpoint. They say that profit sharing and welfare work, of which we shall speak, are simply forms of enlightened selfishness, and that the employer makes use of them because they will make his men more contented, so that he can get more work out of them.

Another idea now much talked about is to allow representatives of the workers to have a voice in fixing their hours of work, wages, and the like. Some forms of this "industrial democracy" are working very successfully. The plan looks upon labor and capital as partners in business. If both sides are reasonable, there will be no excuse for strikes or lockouts when such a system is in operation.

285. Welfare Work. — Welfare work is much more common in the United States than profit sharing. By this we mean extra services beyond the payment of wages which an employer provides for the health and comfort and pleasure of the employees. Where this is practiced, rooms for rest and recreation, libraries, gymnasiums, and even dormitories are provided, either in connection with the factory or in separate buildings.

Both motives — a real interest in the personal welfare of the employees, and a desire to keep them contented — no doubt influence many employers. The laborer has fallen into the habit of "looking a gift horse in the mouth," and perhaps sometimes stopping short of justice in recognizing the good intentions of his employer. The establishment of company stores and tenements is praiseworthy unless the employees are forced to make use of them. Then the employee may be reduced to something not much better than a condition of servitude.

286. Coöperative Movements. — As a means of reducing the cost of living, several forms of coöperative stores have been tried in Great Britain with much success, both for producing and for purchasing common commodities. Somehow Americans find the country too large or lack the coöperative spirit necessary to make these things work here. They do

Roof Garden for Employed Girls.

exist, of course, but not in great numbers. If several could combine to buy things at wholesale prices and distribute the saving among the whole group, it would seem to be worth the trouble and expense of maintaining a store for the benefit of the group.

But the Larkin Soap Company's premium business and the immense catalogues of Sears, Roebuck & Company and other "mail-order" houses seem to appeal more to those whom we might hope to interest in coöperative ventures. The "chain

stores," like the United Cigar Stores, the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, and Woolworth's "five and ten" establishments gratify people's craze for bargains, and make the prospect of the coöperative store rather dark.

BARGAINS ?

Business coöperation is, therefore, in the United States, limited. A number of dairies and butter-making concerns are operating successfully on this principle. The California Fruit Growers' Exchange is a coöperative organization for marketing the products of the "ranches" of its members. But the whole number of such activities is not great.

However, there are mutual fire insurance companies which reduce the cost of insurance considerably by dividing it among their members in proportion to actual cost, rather than let some outsiders make a profit in it. Building and loan associations, which issue stock and let their members borrow money in accordance with the number of shares that they hold, have been very helpful in enabling people to pay for a house by installments and thus become property owners, when otherwise they could not have done so.

Quite a number of fraternal orders have been formed for the purpose of paying sick, accident, and death benefits, but many states regard them as unsound financially and pass laws which show much more favor to private insurance companies.

Why are the country storekeeper and the small city grocer so violently opposed to the "mail-order" house and the "chain store"? Are they justified in their opposition?

287. Theories of Governmental Attitude. — The prevailing notion a century or more ago in regard to the relation of governments to industry was that known as the *laissez-faire* policy, which might be translated freely, *Let them alone.* The teaching of the great economist Adam Smith, and the political views of our own Thomas Jefferson, were of this kind. "That government is best which governs least," was Jefferson's phrasing. The motive of these men was excellent — that each person should be unhindered in development along the lines that suited him best.

But they seemed not to realize that their doctrine was the doctrine of the strongest, and that if some authority did not protect the weaker members of society, there was an end to the hope of their ever rising. Social and industrial warfare would be the constant and inevitable outcome of such a policy. The rights of the individual, whose liberty Jefferson was so deeply interested in, cannot be preserved by such a government unless every individual is equally strong, and it is foolish to expect that such a condition can ever exist.

In place of this individualistic attitude, we now lay stress on the social duty of governments. See to it, we say, that every one shall have an equal chance. If the exercise by one man or one corporation of entire freedom of action is going to promote the interests of the whole community, let him go ahead. But if entire freedom of action on his part deprives others of rights to which they are entitled, he must be restrained.

It is on this principle that we believe governments should say to the factory owner, You must keep your establishment clean and equip it with fire escapes, even if it does cost you something; and to the saloon keeper, If your business harms the community without giving it anything of importance in return, it must be closed up; and to the monopolist, If we allow you to enjoy this monopoly, we must have the privilege of supervising it so as to be sure that the people are helped and not hindered by it. The "police power" of the state —

its right and duty to protect the life, the health, and the morals of its citizens — means more to-day than ever.

288. Extent of Government Regulation. — How far the government should interfere with the natural course of business development in order to conserve the welfare of all, is a vexed question. President Roosevelt was laughed at by some people for suggesting that there are good trusts as well as bad ones, but he may not have been far wrong, after all. What does a labor union aim to do except to control labor

Geyser Basin, Yellowstone Park.

in its own interest just as truly as the trust wishes to master capital in its own service? Should a labor union be treated as a trust if it does the same kind of things? The friends of the unions say there is a difference between them, and declare that it is wrong to treat them alike. May there not also be differences among trusts?

But if there are, and the government is going to make distinctions, it must know more about them than it does now. Just as the Interstate Commerce Commission is making a "physical valuation" of the railroads so that it may have some definite information on which to act, so the state and

national governments might properly learn very much more than they yet know about the methods and purposes of business concerns.

Some people have even proposed that the government should attempt to settle upon a fair price for the necessities of life and not permit any dealer to charge more than this price. No government has thus far undertaken this except as a war measure to prevent speculators taking advantage of the distress of the people. Some of the opposition in Congress to the food control measure urged by President Wilson was very vigorous. The test of this policy, as of all other things, is the way it works in actual practice. If it succeeds as a war measure, the people are likely to demand its retention, at least in part, in time of peace.

289. Government Ownership. — The threatened railroad strike of 1916 and the conditions of the War raised to new prominence the idea of government ownership of public utilities, such as railroads, telephones, and telegraphs. So essential do these seem to be to the industrial and social life of the nation that if private ownership and operation is going to permit disputes between employer and employee to interrupt the service of the public, government ownership and operation must be assumed. In most European countries the telephones and telegraphs are operated in connection with the post office as a natural government function, and on the continent most of the railroads are also government owned.

In this country, however, our theories of democracy have interfered with the extension of the government's activities. Besides, from such great corporations as the Bell Telephone Company, the Western Union Telegraph Company, and the best of the railroads we have had service efficient enough so that the public had little to complain about except the rates charged.

The advocates of government ownership say that it will give the public better service at lower rates, because private profit will be removed or else the income may be used to meet

the other expenses of government. The tendency to concentrate wealth in the hands of a few will be checked, for in public utilities the control and centralization of wealth is most easy. Corruption of public officials by private money and the granting of special favors to certain patrons would be stopped, and the bringing of all employees under civil service rules would encourage efficient administration.

The opponent of government ownership says that it would add an enormous burden of debt unless the government should be so outrageously unfair as to seize the property without paying for it. He argues that private ownership has to be progressive and efficient, while under government ownership there is no competition and the public must put up with what they get.

Furthermore he maintains that instead of improving the quality of the employees it would make it worse, for it would bring hundreds of thousands more jobs into politics, and the pressure would be such that no civil service system could be upheld. But in peace and in war these utilities must be operated. Now that the war is over, private ownership has another chance. Upon its success or failure depends the future of public utilities.

290. Socialism. — One growing class demands much more radical changes than government ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones. This is the Socialist group. The Socialist believes that our industrial system is unsound. Capital, he says, is the result of the combined activities of the men and women who work. Why should not the returns go to them jointly, instead of to private monopolists, who allow the laborer no more than they absolutely must? Socialists claim that private ownership of capital, private greed, private cruelty, are to blame for the injustice, poverty, and misery of the world.

Now if all industry were operated by the state in the interest of all the workers, every one could receive what he earns instead of what somebody else doles out to him. The bitter-

ness and waste of competition would be removed, and each worker could be assigned to the work for which he is best fitted. In short, the Socialist wants the state to take control of everything that concerns the industrial or social well-being of the people.

Numerous objections are brought up by the opponents of Socialism. Would not the management of such an enormous range of activities require more than human intelligence and power? Could any system remove injustice, poverty, and misery unless the Golden Rule were practiced by everybody? And would not *any* system work if every person did practice the Golden Rule? As long as there are idle, incompetent, dishonest people can you hope to make a socialistic state a success?

Are you sure that every man or woman is willing to take up the work in which he can best serve the state? Anyhow, who possesses the omniscience that can determine how much each ought to receive for his labor and can assign each to his proper task? If the state controls and settles everything, will there be much inducement for the individual to strive for advancement?

There are different kinds of people who call themselves Socialists. By all means, let us distinguish between the intelligent Socialist thinkers who are striving to bring about a better day for humanity, and the discontented people who call themselves Socialists but who do not understand their own creed. The real Socialist does not advocate dividing up all the money equally — he knows that it would not stay equally divided five minutes. Neither is he an anarchist — the anarchist wants all organized government removed, but the Socialist wants the state to be all-important.

Socialistic political parties exist in all the advanced industrial nations. Before the European war they were particularly numerous in Germany and France, and in the United States they have elected a few men to Congress and to positions in state legislatures and in city governments. But

there is nothing they have done when they had the chance which would be called revolutionary. Possibly their extreme theories will be put into practice only in the very remote future, if ever.

But the fundamental idea of Socialism, greater activity by the state in the interest of all its citizens, is becoming every year more common — more necessary. We do some things now as a matter of course which only a few years ago were either despised or violently attacked on the ground that they were " socialistic."

291. The Method of Progress. — Very few great changes in history which were permanent came through a sudden outburst or violent change. Of course there are notable events which brought a situation to a climax, but they did not occur out of nothing. Advancement has been wrought by a steady evolution. Always there are two forces at work, progress and conservatism. One says, Things are not what they ought to be. Let's make them better. " Nothing venture, nothing have." The other says, It's better to be safe than to be sorry. " Let well enough alone." And the two forces pull this way and that, generally causing the movement of society to go outside of the path where either force alone would take it.

On the side of the conservative, the " stand-patter," are usually lined up the people who have " arrived," the old families, the business power, all whose activity and thought is centered on the welfare of their " vested interests " and whose love for old times and old ways is strong. These feel that they have much to lose by a change.

With the progressive — the radical, his opponents would call him — will generally be found the people who are struggling for a better place in business or society, the pioneer element, the new communities, the men and women who think much of the needs of their fellow men, those who care more for human rights than for the rights of property, as well as those who have little to lose by any change that could take place.

Between these two positions — modified, perhaps, in some respects — every citizen must choose. To those who can be moved by nothing but appeals to selfish interests, it is useless to say anything. But to those whose vision is broader, whose hearts are touched by calls for service and are inspired by a lofty patriotism, we may appeal. Avoid both the extreme of following custom because it is custom and it would be a bother to make a change, and the other extreme of following the crowd or yielding to a wave of passion as does the mob when some one yells, "Lynch him."

Keep an open mind, ready to take hold of anything good, no matter who proposes it. Do not be afraid of a thing merely because it is new, for everything must be tried first by somebody, but be sure that the principles are sound on which the proposed new idea is based. If it is a step in the right direction, take it unhesitatingly, no matter if it hurts a little somewhere. Progress so gained is likely to be solid, far-reaching, and lasting.

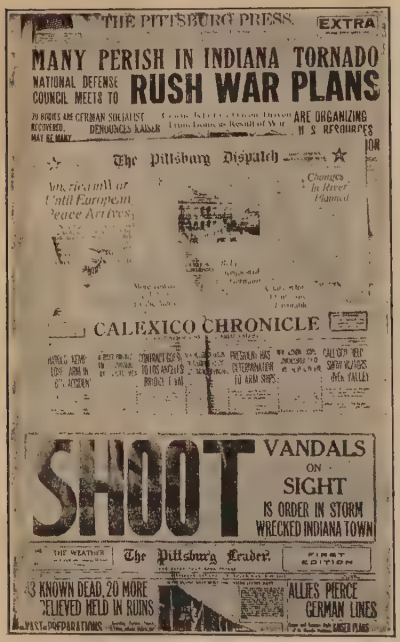
Draw up a constitution for the United States or for your state or a charter for your community, making it as nearly perfect as you can. If this seems too ambitious, try one for your school or for some other organization in which you are interested.

292. The Force of Public Opinion. — Back of every reform movement, every choice of a public official, every policy of lawmaking or law-enforcement, is the mighty force of public opinion. You cannot see it, but it is none the less real. No matter what an individual thinks about any one topic or how widely people may disagree on different questions, what the majority think about any theme must be accepted as public opinion as far as that topic is concerned. How necessary then that public opinion should be intelligent!

Do you know of any laws that are virtually "dead letters" because public opinion does not demand their enforcement?

You and I and the other people in the community and the nation are collectively the public. Our opinions are a kind

of composite of the tendencies which were born in us and the things which we hear, see, and read. If I am a Republican just because my father was, if I hear the views of no one except those whom my daily business brings in touch with me, if I read only one newspaper, and a partisan one at that, it is quite possible that my opinion will be narrow and prejudiced. We owe our fellow men a better service than that, and have a right to ask something better of them.



NEWSPAPER HEADLINES.

From what you see here, how would you characterize the newspapers which are represented? Would you be justified in forming any judgment about their trustworthiness?

Every church, every club, every school, every newspaper, ought to give opportunity for a fair understanding not only of the views of those who are responsible for its management, but of the honest opinions of those who disagree. Public school buildings in particular should be widely used as social centers for the community. Regular meetings should be held there for the free discussion of public questions. How far many of these organizations fall short of doing the service which they might render! And how less intelligent public opinion must be on this account!

Why is it that newspapers sometimes do not tell all the news or do not tell it correctly? What kind of newspapers and maga-

zines does your family read? How far is your opinion influenced by what you read? by custom or habit?

Yet, right or wrong, public opinion is a mighty force. Few Presidents, even, dare to defy or even to disregard it. It is much easier for an official to "keep his ear to the ground," and follow rather than lead. How hard it is for a good public officer to work even for the people's welfare, if they do not understand his motives or his policies! But a strong, healthy public opinion can do wonders even though its agents may not be men of power.

What are the principal means by which public opinion can be influenced? How much can the schools do to create a sound public opinion? Does the teaching of civics in the schools with which you are acquainted accomplish all that it should?

293. "Your United States." — In forming this public opinion you boys and girls, young men and women, have a part even now, and a still greater part will be yours in the years to come. What you think even now goes out into your homes and into the community at large. Even now you can serve your community in numberless ways and help make it better. School is a part of life, not a little world by itself, and the thoughts and habits of to-day may turn the whole course of the future.

A noted Englishman who visited this country wrote a book after making his journey, which he called "Your United States." In a sense somewhat different from that in which he used the words, but in a very true sense, this is *your* United States. It will be exactly what you make it, for in a few years you will be among its voters and only a little later you will be its lawmakers and its executives.

That your ideals of public service may be high, that your views on public questions may be broad and thoughtful, that your courage to do the things which make for cleaner, safer, happier living may be unyielding, is our earnest wish. Thus only can "Your United States" be all it ought to be, for itself

and for all humanity. Those are the principles which underlie true patriotism in war and in peace. No nation is safe for democracy unless its citizens are inspired by such ambitions. The surest way to make the world safe is to be certain that we as individuals and as a nation think nobly and act courageously.

Does patriotism mean more or less than it did a hundred years ago? Are our standards of public and private life higher or lower? What differences will the American citizen of the year 2000 notice in comparing his time with ours?

QUESTIONS

What do you think of railroad president Baer's idea about the employer's place in the plan of the world? How ought the employer to feel toward those who work for him? What motives lead to the institution of profit-sharing arrangements? Why do labor unions usually object to them? Define *welfare work* and give examples of factories where it is undertaken on a large scale. What do you think of it?

What are coöperative stores? Why do we have so few of them in this country? Give examples of coöperative organization now at work here.

State the two opposing theories about the relation of government to industry. Summarize the arguments in favor of each — both those which are given in the text and any others which you can think of. Should the government treat a labor union on the same principles that it follows in dealing with a trust?

Compare the extent of government ownership of public utilities in Europe and America. Why is it so limited here? Summarize the leading arguments for and against it. Why has it lately been considered more seriously than before in this country?

What is Socialism? What are the chief arguments in favor of it and in opposition to it? What seem to you to be prospects of Socialism in the future? Do you think the Great War will help or hinder its progress?

By what method does steady advancement usually come? Contrast the two classes of thinkers on public themes. What position would you advise the average honest citizen to take?

What is public opinion? What influences make you think the way you do about public questions? What can you do now to help your country? What is your responsibility for its future?

SPECIAL TOPICS

Henry Ford: His Business and His Workers.

Welfare Work in Great Industrial Institutions.

Resolved, that the national government should be given power to fix a maximum price for all food products.

Resolved, that railroads, telephones, and telegraphs should be owned and operated by the federal government.

Why I Am (or Am Not) a Socialist.

The Newspaper: Its Evolution, Production, and Power.

The Newspapers of Our Community.

APPENDIX A

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PREAMBLE

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I. — LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

Section 1. — Congress

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

Section 2. — House of Representatives

1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

[1] 3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by add-

[1] Modified by Amendment XIV, Section 2, and Amendment XVI.

ing to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Section 3. — Senate

[1]1. [The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.]

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; [1][and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies].

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

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[1] Paragraph 1 and the last part of paragraph 2, in Section 3, have been replaced by Amendment XVII.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

Section 4. — Elections and Sessions

1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 5. — Government and Rules

1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each House may provide.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. — Privileges and Restrictions

1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

Section 7. — Process of Law-making

1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it with his objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and, if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and, before the same shall take effect, shall

be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. — POWERS GRANTED TO CONGRESS[1]

The Congress shall have power, —

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the

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[1] Additional powers of Congress are mentioned in *Art. I*, Sect. 2, par. 3; Sect. 4, par. 1; Sect. 6, par. 1; *Art. II*, Sect. 1, pars. 4, 6; *Art. III*, Sect. 2, pars. 2, 3; Sect. 3, par. 2; *Art. IV*, Sect. 1; Sect. 3, pars. 1, 2; *Art. V*; *Amendment XIII*, Sect. 2; *Amendment XIV*, Sects. 2, 3, 5; *Amendment XV*, Sect. 2; *Amendment XVI*.

militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States; and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; — and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Section 9. — Powers Denied to Congress[1]

1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

[2] 4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement

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[1] Amendments I to X are also, directly or indirectly, limitations on the powers of Congress.

[2] Modified by Amendment XVI.

and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

Section 10. — Powers Denied to the States[1]

1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II. — EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

Section 1. — The President: Election and Qualifications

1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows: —

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of Electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

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[1] Supplemented by Amendments XIV and XV.

[1] 3. [The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the Electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.]

4. Congress may determine the time of choosing the Electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

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[1] Replaced by Amendment XII.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: — "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section 2. — Powers of the President

1. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Section 3. — Duties of the President

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public

ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Section 4. — Removal of Officials

The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III. — JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

Section 1. — Courts and Judges

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section 2. — Jurisdiction and Methods

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States, between a State and citizens of another State,[1] between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within

[1] Modified by Amendment XI.

any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section 3. — Treason

1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV. — STATE RELATIONS

Section 1. — Public Acts

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section 2. — Rights and Restrictions of Individuals

1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Section 3. — New States and National Possessions

1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no New State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4. — Protection of States

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature can not be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V. — AMENDMENT

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI. — AUTHORITY OF THE CONSTITUTION

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution;

but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII. — RATIFICATION

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. *In Witness* whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

G°: WASHINGTON,
Presidt. and Deputy from Virginia,
[*and thirty-eight other delegates.*]

ARTICLES
IN ADDITION TO, AND AMENDMENT OF, THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ARTICLE I. — PERSONAL FREEDOM [1]

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II. — KEEPING AND BEARING ARMS [1]

A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III. — QUARTERING TROOPS [1]

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV. — SECURITY OF THE HOME [1]

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V. — SECURITY AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT [1]

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI. — RIGHTS OF PERSONS ACCUSED OF CRIME [1]

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII. — JURY TRIAL IN CIVIL CASES [1]

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII. — BAIL AND PUNISHMENTS [1]

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX. — UNMENTIONED RIGHTS [1]

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X. — POWERS RESERVED TO THE STATES [1]

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI. — SUITS AGAINST STATES [2]

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII. — ELECTION OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT [3]

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; — the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; — the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Represen-

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[1] Amendments I to X were proposed by Congress in 1789. After ratification by the states they were proclaimed by the Secretary of State to be in force, 1791.

[2] Proposed, 1794, proclaimed in force, 1798.

[3] Proposed, 1803, proclaimed in force, 1804.

tatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII. — SLAVERY [1]

Section 1. — Prohibition

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. — Enforcement

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV. — CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS OF CITIZENS [2]

Section 1. — Citizens and Their Rights

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of

[1] Proposed and proclaimed in force, 1865.

[2] Proposed, 1866, proclaimed in force, 1868.

life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. — Apportionment of Representatives

Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. — Loss of Political Privileges

No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or Elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4. — Public Debt

The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States, nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. — Enforcement

The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV. — RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE [1]

Section 1. — Negro Suffrage

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. — Enforcement

The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI — INCOME TAXES [2]

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII — ELECTION OF SENATORS [3]

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, that the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII — INTOXICATING LIQUORS [4]

Section 1. — Prohibition

After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the

[1] Proposed, 1869, proclaimed in force, 1870.
[2] Proposed, 1909, proclaimed in force, 1913.
[3] Proposed, 1912, proclaimed in force, 1913.
[4] Proposed, 1917, proclaimed in force, 1919.

importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes, is hereby prohibited.

SECTION 2. — ENFORCEMENT

The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

SECTION 3. — TIME OF RATIFICATION

This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States as provided in the Constitution within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

ARTICLE XIX — EQUAL SUFFRAGE[1]

SECTION 1. — VOTING RIGHTS

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

SECTION 2. — ENFORCEMENT

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

[1] Proposed, 1919, proclaimed in force, 1920

APPENDIX B

STATISTICS OF THE STATES

State	Became Member of the Union	Area in Square Miles	Population in 1910	Electoral Vote 1912–1920
Alabama	1819	51,998	2,138,093	12
Arizona	1912	113,956	204,354	3
Arkansas	1836	53,335	1,574,449	9
California	1850	158,297	2,377,549	13
Colorado	1876	103,948	799,024	6
Connecticut	1788	4,965	1,114,756	7
Delaware	1787	2,370	202,322	3
Florida	1845	58,666	752,619	6
Georgia	1788	59,265	2,609,121	14
Idaho	1890	83,888	325,594	4
Illinois	1818	56,665	5,638,591	29
Indiana	1816	36,354	2,700,876	15
Iowa	1846	56,147	2,224,771	13
Kansas	1861	82,158	1,690,949	10
Kentucky	1792	40,598	2,289,905	13
Louisiana	1812	48,506	1,656,388	10
Maine	1820	33,040	742,371	6
Maryland	1788	12,327	1,295,346	8
Massachusetts	1788	8,266	3,366,416	18
Michigan	1837	57,980	2,810,173	15
Minnesota	1858	84,682	2,075,708	12
Mississippi	1817	46,865	1,797,114	10
Missouri	1821	69,420	3,293,335	18
Montana	1889	146,997	376,053	4
Nebraska	1867	77,520	1,192,214	8
Nevada	1864	110,690	81,875	3
New Hampshire	1788	9,341	430,572	4
New Jersey	1787	8,224	2,537,167	14
New Mexico	1912	122,634	327,301	3
New York	1788	49,204	9,113,614	45
North Carolina	1789	52,426	2,206,287	12
North Dakota	1889	70,837	577,056	5
Ohio	1803	41,040	4,767,121	24
Oklahoma	1907	70,057	1,657,155	10
Oregon	1859	96,699	672,765	5
Pennsylvania	1787	45,126	7,665,111	38
Rhode Island	1790	1,248	542,610	5
South Carolina	1788	30,989	1,515,400	9
South Dakota	1889	77,615	583,888	5
Tennessee	1796	42,022	2,184,789	12

STATISTICS OF THE STATES — (*continued*)

State	Became Member of the Union	Area in Square Miles	Population in 1910	Electoral Vote 1912–1920
Texas	1845	265,896	3,896,542	20
Utah	1896	84,990	373,351	4
Vermont	1791	9,564	355,956	4
Virginia	1788	42,627	2,061,612	12
Washington	1889	69,127	1,141,990	7
West Virginia	1863	24,170	1,221,119	8
Wisconsin	1848	56,066	2,333,860	13
Wyoming	1890	97,914	145,965	3
Total of the States		3,026,719	91,641,197	531

OTHER POSSESSIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

Region	Date of Acquisition	Present Government	Area in Square Miles	Population 1910
Alaska	1867	Territory	590,884	64,356
District of Columbia		Federal District	70	331,069
Guam	1898	By Naval Officer	210	12,866 [1]
Hawaii	1898	Territory	6,449	191,909
Panama Canal Zone	1904	Governor and Administrative Departments under authority of President	436	31,048 [2]
Philippine Islands	1899	Colony, largely self-governing	115,026	8,879,999 [2]
Porto Rico	1898	Territory	3,435	1,118,012
Tutuila, Samoa	1900	By Naval Officer	77	7,426 [1]
Virgin Islands	1917	By Naval Officer	138	36,000 [2]
Total Possessions			716,725	9,360,000 [3]
United States and Possessions			3,743,444	101,000,000 [3]

[1] Census of 1913. [2] Census or estimate for 1916.

[3] Estimated as for 1910. The total population to-day (1917) of the United States and the territories would probably be over 103,000,000. Other possessions would probably add about 8,900,000 more.

APPENDIX C

BIBLIOGRAPHY

General Reference Material

The *World Almanac* (New York), published at the beginning of each year, is practically a necessity to every Civics class. The *Congressional Directory*, the *Official Hand Book*, *Blue Book*, or *Manual*, published by some office in the state government, and the annual or special reports of county, city, and township officers, can usually be obtained without charge, and will give the most recent information on the governments with which they deal. From the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., can be obtained a list of the bulletins issued by the various national departments and bureaus. From this list selections can be made of the publications which will be of the most use to each school. Some of these are furnished free, but for many of them there is a small charge, sufficient only to cover the cost of publication. Similar bulletins may be issued by branches of the state government.

Several of the best weekly and monthly periodicals should be always accessible. *The Independent*, *The Literary Digest*, *The Outlook*, and *The Survey* are excellent weeklies, and *Current Opinion*, *The American City*, *The Review of Reviews*, and *The World's Work* are valuable monthly publications. These are all published in New York.

Clippings, pictures, and the like, will be collected by the pupils from many sources. Those which they do not care to keep for themselves can be filed, classified, and indexed. A collection of material thus secured in the course of a few years may become very valuable.

For schools which can afford the expense there should also be copies of such reference books as Bliss's *New Encyclopedia of Social Reform* (Funk and Wagnalls, New York), McLaughlin and Hart's *Cyclopedia of American Government* (Appleton), and the *American Year Book* (Appleton) or the *International Year Book* (Dodd, Mead & Co.)

Every teacher should use bulletins of the United States Bureau of Education such as No. 23 for 1915 on *The Teaching of Community Civics*. Many of the state Boards of Education also publish valuable matter. For example, a circular of the Massachusetts Board on *The Teaching of Community Civics* contains a very helpful list of books for reading and reference, suggesting their comparative value for pupils and teachers.

Each pupil should keep his own note book, which should contain his outlines, notes taken in class or on outside reading, and such illustrative matter as he wishes to keep for his own later use and information.

Ballots, tax lists, tax receipts, warrants, subpoenas, deeds, mortgages, plans, maps, charts, contracts, licenses, and the like, from a great variety of sources, are more or less easily obtainable and are of much illustrative value.

Books

A few usable books which the pupil can read with interest and understanding, supplemented by up-to-date reference manuals, will be of far more value than shelf-loads of volumes which only practiced readers with mature minds can comprehend. Have extra copies, if possible, of the books which will be in most common demand.

Herewith we mention a few which will be found helpful, in part at least, to pupil as well as teacher. We make no attempt to list the many magazine articles which would be helpful if available. Libraries which have these magazines on their shelves will probably have also the periodical indexes which can be consulted.

Parts I and II

Beard, *American City Government* (Century); Zueblin, *American Municipal Progress* (Macmillan); Howe, *The Modern City and Its Problems* (Scribner); Bruere, *The New City Government* (Appleton).

Among textbooks for young pupils, Dunn, *The Community and the Citizen* (Heath) has a good explanation of the beginning of a frontier community; Nida, *City, State, and Nation* (Macmillan) gives a full description of the problems of city administration.

Part III

Young, *The New American Government and Its Work* (Macmillan); Haskin, *American Government* (Lippincott); Du Puy,

Uncle Sam's Modern Miracles (Stokes); Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (Macmillan); Hart, *Actual Government* (Longmans).

Magruder, *American Government* (Allyn and Bacon), is a textbook which contains much valuable information, with suggestive questions and extracts.

Part IV

Towne, *Social Problems* (Macmillan) is exceptionally useful. Duplicates of this should be available. Others include: Wright, *Practical Sociology* (Longmans); Bogart, *Economic History of the United States* (Longmans); Van Hise, *Conservation of Natural Resources* (Macmillan); Burch and Nearing, *Elements of Economics* (Macmillan); Carlton, *History and Problems of Organized Labor* (Heath); Ross, *The Old World in the New*, and *Changing America* (Century); Steiner, *The Immigrant Tide*, and *The Trail of the Immigrant* (Revell); Henderson, *Dependents, Defectives, and Delinquents* (Heath); Warner, *American Charities* (Crowell); Haworth, *America in Ferment* (Bobbs, Merrill & Co.); Puffer, *Vocational Guidance* (Rand, McNally); Davis, *Vocational and Moral Guidance* (Ginn); Gowin and Wheatly, *Occupations* (Ginn); Literature of the National Child Labor Committee, The National Consumer's League (New York), and similar organizations.

Lessons in Community and National Life, a series published monthly during the school year of 1917–1918 by the National Bureau of Education under the editorship of Dr. Charles H. Judd, will be found helpful on many of the topics in Part IV and some in Parts I and II.

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